# Daily Report

# East Europe

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21 March 1994

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*FBIS-EEU-94-054* *21 March 1994*

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## Croatian, Bosnian Officials Sign Agreements

### Tudjman Meets With Clinton 18 Mar

*LD1803204194 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 18 Mar 94*

[Report by correspondent Mirjana Bunjevac-Filipovic from the White House in Washington]

[Text] The agreements signed today are of exceptional importance for both Croats and Muslims and also for peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the stability of the whole of Europe. The guarantees obtained here in Washington should help all this to be implemented effectively and as soon as possible.

Two of the six agreements signed are, so to speak, of a general nature. One of those two agreements obligates the signatories to support the formation of the federation between Croats and Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the other to support the development of economic and military cooperation between the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation and the Republic of Croatia. There are also four separate documents: the preliminary agreement on the confederal relations between the Republic of Croatia and the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the agreement granting the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation access to the sea via the territory of the Republic of Croatia, the agreement granting the Republic of Croatia free passage through the territory of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, and finally, the agreement on the constitution of Bosnia- Herzegovina, which will be sent to the Constitutional Assembly for discussion and adoption.

After the signing ceremony, President Clinton had separate talks first with President Izetbegovic, and then with President Tudjman.

The Republic of Croatia and the whole of the Croatian nation highly appreciate the role of the United States and President Clinton in reaching the agreement on creating the Croat-Bosniak Federation and the confederation between the future Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation and the Republic of Croatia.

This is said in a statement by President Tudjman following his talks with President Clinton.

These agreements will be important for halting the war in the former Yugoslavia and the creation of conditions for permanent peace and stability of the new world order in this part of Europe. The United States' leading role—moral, political, and in the security sphere—is of paramount interest for uniting efforts for preserving peace on the part of the most important world factors—the United Nations, the CSCE, the European Union, NATO, and individual states. The role of the pope and the Vatican are of paramount importance in the ecumenical efforts to restore peace and encourage cooperation between the nations and religious communities in different crisis areas. This is also said in a statement issued after President Tudjman's talks with President Clinton.

President Tudjman also held talks with European Union Foreign Ministers Van der Broek, Claes, Kinkel, and Papoulias. A luncheon offered in honor of Presidents Tudjman and Izetbegovic, and the Croatian and Muslim delegation by U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher is under way.

### Comments on Washington Agreements

*LD1903134394 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 2155 GMT 18 Mar 94*

[Interview with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman by an unidentified correspondent in Washington on 18 March—recorded]

[Text] [Unidentified correspondent] After signing the agreement in Washington you first met with U.S. President Clinton. What do you consider to be the highlights of that meeting?

[Tudjman] It goes without saying that this meeting was of exceptional importance to me and the Croatian delegation. We discussed ways of translating into practice what we had agreed on by signing the accord. In this regard we primarily stated that Croatia needed U.S. and European support in order to resolve the issue of Croatia's territories temporarily under UN protection; that is, the incorporation of those territories into Croatia's constitutional and legal system. Naturally, we also discussed many other issues from the area of international relations, especially issues of relevance to bilateral relations between Croatia and the United States.

[Correspondent] Did you have any interesting encounters with the representatives of the European Union? How do they view America's sudden decision to join in the process of resolving the crisis in the region of former Yugoslavia?

[Tudjman] Yes, I met with the troika—you know what that means, the present chairman of the European Union, Greek [Foreign] Minister Papoulias, former Chairman Claes and future Chairman Kinkel, German vice chancellor and foreign minister—and then with Van den Broek and with around a dozen European ministers and ambassadors. We discussed the agreement and topical issues, primarily—again—the integration of the territories occupied by Serbia and under the protection of the peacekeeping forces into Croatia.

[Correspondent] Let us go back to the agreements signed and possibilities for their implementation in the field. In your opinion, what is the minimum territory the Muslim-Bosniak federation [as heard] should get?

[Tudjman] Well, there has been no discussion on that subject here in Washington. However, it has been established in the course of the talks so far within the

framework of the European conference on former Yugoslavia and on resolving the Bosnian crisis that the present Croat-Muslim federation in Bosnia should get 51 percent. Namely, it was envisaged at the time that the Muslims should get 33.5 percent and the Croats 17.5. Therefore, this is a minimum below which we cannot go, while talks are to continue on the basis of the Muslim demand for an increase in these territories, that is, as is often heard on the margins of diplomatic conversations—the Serbs would have to pay a price for joining the confederation. So, it is out of the question that the Serbs could retain more than 50 percent, as some are saying.

[Correspondent] Yesterday Mr. Redman was our guest in this same program. He mentioned not only the amount of territory that the Serbs should hand back but also the quality of territory, too. Would you like to specify and tell us what the most desirable territories are in the event of their being handed back to the Muslim-Croatian federation?

[Tudjman] I believe that at the moment it would not be advisable for me to dwell on these issues, which will be negotiated. It is important to tell our public that the most important factors of world and European politics are in agreement that one should seek solutions at the green table, that a political agreement should be reached. Understandably, this agreement should be such as to take account of geostrategic interests too.

[Correspondent] Talking about geostrategic interests, I believe that Croatia, people in Croatia, may find it particularly interesting as to whether this possible demand for the return of territories will sever the corridor to the so-called Krajina?

[Tudjman] This issue, too, well, it remains to be seen in the course of talks. For us it is essential that we have the full support of the United States and the European Union, that is, all international factors, for the return of Croatian territories into Croatia's constitutional and legal system.

[Correspondent] Let us stay a bit longer on Bosnia-Herzegovina. In your opinion, should, and under what conditions, the Serbs from Bosnia-Herzegovina be allowed to join the Croat-Muslim federation?

[Tudjman] It seems to me that this question is unnecessary because the Serbs have so far shown no interest in living in a union. Therefore, what will probably be at issue is whether the Serbs can be forced to temporarily remain in some kind of loose union with the Croat-Bosnian federation, for a temporary solution, a definitive solution. [sentence as heard] The possibility of forming a confederation within the framework of Bosnia-Herzegovina is not discussed at all now. What is important, what the world has tried to achieve, is to establish peace between Croats and Muslims because it is in strategic interests to end the war and to reach a demarcation that would, in the future, guarantee a more stable order in this region.

[Correspondent] In discussions of a global solution to the crisis in the region, a global settlement is very often mentioned. People here in Croatia have recently started fearing a possible revival of some kind of loose union in the region. Do you think that if the Bosnian Serbs are allowed to remain in the federation and have some kind of link with Serbia, that the international community will exert pressure on Croatia to join a confederation with Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Tudjman] It can be supposed that some circles in the international community would exert such pressure, and some are still nurturing such ideas. This is a well-known fact. However, the important and responsible international factors know that there can be no revival of Yugoslavia, of the Yugoslav union, and that regardless of what Serbia wants, Croatia on the other hand is firm in its standpoint that a new international order in this region is possible only on the basis of the mutual recognition of sovereign states created on the territory of the former Yugoslavia.

[Correspondent] A meeting of representatives of Croatia and the so-called Krajina is scheduled, as we know, to take place in the Russian Embassy on Tuesday. Some information has been leaked, so I would like to check it with you. Is it true that our delegation will be headed by Hrvoje Sarinic and the Serb delegation by Mile Novakovic?

[Tudjman] Hrvoje Sarinic will head our delegation, that is true. I also heard before my departure that their delegation will be headed by....[changes thought] But there will also be someone else as their political representative. Our public is probably also interested in the fact that this meeting was convened by President Yeltsin's special envoy Churkin. This meeting will be attended by a U.S. representative, too.

[Correspondent] Will this meeting, as Churkin said, focus solely on a cease-fire, or will some political relations be discussed nevertheless at this early stage?

[Tudjman] The agenda for this meeting will, of course, include a cease-fire, meaning the securing of—shall I say—a general cease-fire, something that will be an introduction to the further process of normalizing relations. In this context, one certainly cannot rule out talks on these issues.

[Correspondent] A question that inevitably arises: Will Croatia have to alter some of its present laws—the law on minorities, the law on the internal set-up, for instance—in the process of reintegrating the so-called Krajina?

[Tudjman] Well, Croatia had passed a constitutional law in conformity with the demands of the European Community, as it was known at the time—the present European Union—and in accordance with suggestions made by the arbitration commission headed by prominent French expert Badintere. There will be no reason for

fundamentally altering Croatia's legislature. Understandably, we for our part will be flexible enough to reach an agreement on the peaceful integration of those regions into Croatia's constitutional and legal system while remaining determined not to allow Croatia's sovereignty to be eroded.

[Correspondent] Could you please clarify this concept, this syntagma frequently heard of late—expanded autonomy.

[Tudjman] There can be no talk of any other expanded autonomy but the one already discussed. I am referring to two districts—Glina and Knin, where the Serbs are in the majority. It is there that they will have the right to local self-rule in accordance with our Constitution and constitutional laws. Also, of course, the entire Serb community in Croatia will have all human rights guaranteed as well as ethnic community rights in harmony with international conventions.

[Correspondent] We have heard certain rumors, and some observers—we will not name them now—claim that the so-called Krajina [Serb-held areas in eastern and southern Croatia] should be given the status that Kosovo and Vojvodina had under the 1974 Constitution of the former SFRY [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia]. What do you think about that?

[Tudjman] I think that such claims are nebulous. Kosovo is a province inhabited not only by a huge national minority, but also by almost 2 million Albanians who have a 90 percent majority and live in a compact area. In the same way, Vojvodina is a separate and historical province, which was not part of Serbia and Yugoslavia until 1918, and it is also ethnically, nationally mixed. There can be no comparison in that respect with the so-called Krajina in Croatia, which is not territorially linked and where the Serbs are in a proportional minority, except in the two districts that I have mentioned—Glina and Knin—which are not territorially linked.

[Correspondent] By all appearances, the sanctions against Belgrade are the only effective means against greater Serbian policies. In your opinion, is it now possible to lift the sanctions in exchange for [Serbia] giving up the so-called Krajinas?

[Tudjman] Now you have used the term exchange, such an exchange is possible only when a positive, acceptable solution is reached simultaneously—with Serbia's consent—in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and when Croatia's territories currently under the peace forces' protection are reintegrated into Croatia.

[Correspondent] In your view, now that the agreement has been signed, has Croatia's position become stronger in the eyes of the Security Council, the United Nations?

[Tudjman] Absolutely. In making its demands, Croatia's position is now very favorable. Croatia's position in the international community has become such that it has friendly relations, the closest relations with the United States; it has the understanding of the European Union in general, especially the leading European countries and, what is not important [as heard], the complete understanding—especially now after the signing of these agreements on a federation and a confederation—of a large number of Islamic countries and nonaligned countries which, as you know, are numerous and which are playing an important role in the work of the Security Council and the United Nations. To this effect Croatia's demands will be met by far greater understanding because Croatia has again shown that it is pursuing a consistent policy of resolving matters peacefully, that its objectives are in conformity with the international community.

[Correspondent] Thank you, Mr. President.

[Tudjman] Thank you and a good night to you.

## Izetbegovic: 'Better Days Are at Hand'

*LD1803233794 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 18 Mar 94*

[Text] We have just received a special telephone statement by Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic for Bosnia-Herzegovina Radio and Television.

[Begin Izetbegovic recording] We have just ended, five minutes ago, a meeting with the European troika: European Union Chairman Papoulias of Greece; Kinkel; and Claes, who was the previous EU chairman. Some other European statesmen were also present, Van den Broek among them. Some 20 of them attended the meeting. We discussed—I am talking about things that have not been made public today because they happened just now—we discussed the promotion of peace in Sarajevo, the reconstruction of Sarajevo, the appointment of EU administrators for Mostar and visions regarding the reconstruction of these cities. In all, what could I add to what I said today and what you have already heard?

I wish to say that it is very important that the first results of these talks are tangible; they are evident. They have become evident in many parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina where people are no longer being killed and where we had been fighting until recently. Convoys are now passing freely there, lives are no longer being lost in those regions. Life is returning in a way—a ray of life—to Mostar, the old part of Vitez. They are perfectly aware of this in Sarajevo. What is important is that the results of this are being felt. That proves this is a real change. This is not what we used to call a change on paper. I believe we have good reason to look to the future with optimism.

A significant change has occurred in the balance of forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina. I do not believe we should take advantage of that to prolong the war, but I think that this increased strength should be used to achieve a just peace. This is our right, it is our right to do this, and this we shall do.

Washington was, so to speak, the center of the world today—not to say that it is not otherwise—because a large number of statesmen assembled here today to take part in this event. This added weight to this event, which goes to show that we are not the only ones who are directly involved, who are vitally interested, but many other responsible people in the world are also involved who feel that something is changing. Of course, we should all try to contribute to this process as best we can. We, our government, will do all we can in this respect. I cannot help recalling that, unfortunately, people in Maglaj, Bihac, Brcko, and in some other places have sensed relief. Fighting is still going on there, lives are being lost, but it seems that better days are at hand. [end recording]

## 'Text' of Confederation Agreement

*LD1903013094 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 18 Mar 94*

["Text of the preliminary agreement on the establishment of a confederation between the Republic of Croatia and the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina" signed in Washington on 18 March—read by announcer]

[Text] The Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Republic of Croatia have agreed on the following:

**Article 1**

The confederation is envisaged to be established between the Federation [of Bosnia-Herzegovina] and the Republic of Croatia.

**Article 2**

The establishment of the confederation does not change the international identity or the legal status of Croatia or the Federation.

**Article 3**

1. The parties to the agreement will form a confederative council to coordinate their policies and activities within the Confederation. Each party will have an equal number of members in the council. Decisions passed by the council will require the approval of a majority of members from each party.

2. The chairman of the council will be elected by the council for a term of one year, rotating among the members of each party.

**Article 4**

The parties will pass internal decrees and conclude agreements taking gradual steps toward economic cooperation as described in this article, aiming at establishing a common market and a monetary union when conditions are ripe.

1. The parties will immediately establish cooperation and develop common policies in the following areas: transportation, energy, environment, economic policy—including laws and decrees on the creation of a free market, finances, and customs—economic recovery, health care, culture, science, and education, product standardization and consumer protection, migration, immigration, and asylum, and especially on the implementation of laws on terrorism, smuggling, drugs abuse, and organized crime.

2. Over the next few years the parties will consult with a view to establishing a free trade area for a free exchange of domestic products; a customs union; a common market allowing the free exchange of goods, services, and money; and a monetary union.

**Article 5**

Croatia and the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina will agree as soon as possible on defense arrangements, the coordination of defense policies, and the establishment of joint commands in the event of war or imminent peril to either party.

**Article 6**

The parties will conclude the following agreements as soon as possible:

1. Croatia will allow the Federation unrestricted access to the Adriatic Sea through Croatia, as specified in Annex 1 of the agreement.

2. The Federation will grant Croatia unrestricted transit through Neum, as specified in Annex 2 of the agreement. The same (?agreement) could be concluded between the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

**Article 7**

The agreement will come into effect upon signing and will remain valid until otherwise agreed by the parties.

## 'Text' of Federation Agreement

*LD1803223094 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 18 Mar 94*

["Text of the agreement on the federation of Croats and Bosniak-Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina" signed in Washington on 18 March—read by announcer]

[Text] Today we confirm the proposed constitution of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina as well as a preliminary agreement concerning future economic and military cooperation between the Federation [of Bosnia-Herzegovina] and the Republic of Croatia.

These agreements mark our common commitment to restoring peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina and throughout our region. We have agreed to step up our efforts in the search for an overall political settlement that ensures the protection of human rights and the preservation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states in the region.

The Bosniak and Croatian delegations affirm their commitment to propose this constitution to a Constitutional Assembly as the basis for a federation ensuring full national equality, democratic relations, and the highest standards of human rights and freedoms. All delegations lend their support to the principles of the confederation, which can lay the foundation for a more prosperous and secure future for the peoples of the region.

To broaden our cooperation, we have decided that we will immediately do the following:

1. Form a joint group to be the sole representative of the Bosniaks and Croats in all negotiations with the Serbs concerning an overall settlement in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

2. Ask the CSCE to appoint an ombudsman to begin work in Bosnia-Herzegovina with the mandate described in the proposed constitution.

3. Invite the European Union to organize its administration of the district of Mostar as soon as possible.

4. Continue the full and immediate implementation of the measures agreed by the military transition team in Split on 12 March, and encourage steps for the further disengagement of forces.

### Granic Meets With Silajdzic 19 Mar

*LD1903234594 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2300 GMT 19 Mar 94*

[Text] Mate Granic, Croatian deputy prime minister and foreign minister, had a meeting with Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic in Washington today. They discussed the implementation of the agreements signed so far and established with satisfaction that events were developing in a positive direction. For example, prisoners have already been exchanged. They stressed that both the Muslim and Croat sides should prevent all attempts at provocations. Granic and Silajdzic also discussed the strategy of negotiating with the Serb side and some current issues, such as the EU's future assistance to Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

## Berisha Hails B-H Agreement, Clinton's Role

*AU1903204094 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 19 Mar 94*

[Text] Albanian President Sali Berisha has sent a greetings telegram to Croatian President Franjo Tudjman and Bosnia-Herzegovina President Alia Izetbegovic on the agreement to create a confederation which has been signed in Washington. Berisha stressed the importance of this agreement in achieving a fair peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which gives broader hope to the region.

In a telegram sent to U.S. President Bill Clinton, Berisha expressed his high assessment for the very important role of President Clinton and the U.S. Government in achieving this agreement as well as his conviction on Washington's further commitment to resolve the crisis in our region.

## Serreqi Praises B-H Accord, Cites Kosovo Issue

*AU1803210394 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1830 GMT 18 Mar 94*

[Text] Concerning the signing in Washington of the agreement between Bosnian Muslims and Croats on the creation of a joint federation, Albanian Foreign Minister Alfred Serreqi gave this statement to the Voice of America correspondent in Tirana:

[Begin Serreqi recording] The Albanian Government hails the signing of the agreement, considering it a very important step and an act that opens a perspective for a stable and acceptable solution to the conflict. This was a result of a serious commitment by the United States, international pressure, and perhaps the obligation of Russian diplomacy in the Balkans.

Judging from the rate and outcome of these efforts and the results in the field, we reckon that, at least, this stops that part of the conflict, avoids that part of the war, the most absurd part of the war—the Croat-Bosnian war.

Of course, it points out the aggressor more, against whom there should be no illusions. However, the line of political isolation and the strict application of sanctions should continue, and they must be conditioned by other elements of the crisis.

Of course, the results of this agreement bring to the fore those other elements which, because of the tragedy of the war in Bosnia, have been somewhat marginalized. Here I want to point out the problem of Kosova and reiterate that by signing the agreement, this is the first step, a step that should be followed by other measures to solve the crisis definitively, a crisis that cannot be solved without finding an acceptable and stable solution to the Kosova issue and the pan-Albanian problem in the Balkans. [end recording]

## FYROM's Andonov Requests Use of Port, Fuel

*AU1803212894 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 18 Mar 94*

[Text] Bashkim Kopliku, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and his Macedonian counterpart Jovan Andonov held business talks in Tirana today. The talks focused on the cooperation and port facilities that Albania may offer to Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] on the transport of goods from the Adriatic shores to Macedonia.

We are predisposed to help Macedonia, Kopliku said at this meeting. Moreover, we are related to Macedonia by the fact that about 40 percent of its inhabitants are of Albanian nationality.

The talks mainly focused on two main directions of the demands by the Macedonian side: to ensure the use of Durres port for transport as well as the use of one of the fuel stores in Vlore.

Assessing the help that Albania would give to Macedonia, Macedonian Deputy Prime Minister Andonov asked that 30 percent of goods destined for Macedonia should pass through Albania, with advantageous conditions regarding customs expenses. Kopliku declared the readiness of the Albanian Government to reach an understanding.

The Macedonian side confirmed its readiness to include Albania in the project to construct a gas pipeline from Russia to Skopje, and from there to Albania.

## Participants in Nano Trial Face Threats

*AU2003193894 Tirana GAZETA SHQIPTARE in Albanian 20 Mar 94 p 1*

[Unattributed report: "Threats to the Trial"]

[Text] Tirana—Another scandal has broken out in connection with the trial over the aid scandal in which Socialist leader Fatos Nano is one of the accused. Whereas it was expected that the Friday [18 March] session would deal with documentary testimony and the examination of all the written evidence in the investigators' file, two different testimonies shocked the courtroom. These concerned serious threats against direct or indirect participants in this trial, connected with the further course of the judgement of Fatos Nano. In a strongly worded protest, Prosecutor Arben Qeleshi publicly confirmed the existence of a violent threat against the husband of expert witness Virgjeresha Shkreli, threatening him with physical liquidation if his wife were to testify against Nano at the trial. Immediately after this, Nano's lawyer Perparim Sanxhaku made public another fact. According to him, a now-identified individual had threatened him because he is the Socialist leader's defense lawyer.

"On the afternoon of 17 March, certain people whom the police and justice authorities have still not identified

used physical and psychological pressure in the most unscrupulous and inhuman fashion against the husband of the expert witness Virgjeresha Shkreli," Prosecutor Qeleshi declared in his protest, "to the point of pointing a loaded pistol into his mouth and saying that, if his wife appeared in court, we will physically eliminate you and hang you." Before the file on the aid scandal was sent to the court, the expert witness Shkreli and her two colleagues had worked on calculating the amount of Italian aid lost, which the prosecutor has claimed were appropriated and misused. However, according to court rules, the work of the experts attached to the investigation must also be examined in court in the final stages of the judicial procedure.

Only a few moments after Prosecutor Qeleshi's protest, the lawyer Sanxhaku reported another serious threat, this time against himself. "At 1730 on 15 March, an identified person driving a car with the license plate TR 2651 A threatened me personally," Sanxhaku declared, "saying that they would hang me from a rope." Thus, two very special pieces of evidence have come to light, joining Prosecutor Qeleshi's statement a few days before the start of the trial that he too had been personally threatened.

## Court Decides on Former Leaders' Sentences

*AU2003183994 Tirana GAZETA SHQIPTARE in Albanian 19 Mar 94 p 1*

[Armand Mero report: "Less Prison for the Blockmen—They Will Pay the State Compensation"]

[Text] Tirana—The blockmen will pay compensation to Albania. The Higher Appeal Court [Gjykata e Kasacionit], the Albanian judiciary final resort, has had its final say: The 10 former functionaries of the Albanian Workers Party must pay a total of more than 2 million leks. But this is not all. The presiding judge, although confirming the charge made by the Tirana District Court of "creating social inequality by colluding to create privileges," has softened the sentence of the Appeal Court by reducing the number of years that those convicted will spend languishing in prison cells.

Thus the trial of the blockmen has concluded in Tirana, and with it one of the chapters in the history of communism in Albania. Judge Zef Nika issued his final verdict in one of the Higher Appeal Court's halls at 1400 on Thursday [17 March], by announcing: "A conclusion to the civil case obliging all those convicted to pay the following sums in compensation to the Government Services Directorate: Qirjako Mihali, 227,944 leks; Pali Miska, 213,086 leks; Besnik Bekteshi, 257,733 leks; Vangjel Cerrava, 128,834 leks; Prokop Murra, 269,439 leks; Llambi Gegprifti, 195,023 leks; Muho Asllani, 168,357 leks; Hajredin Celiku, 142,787 leks; Foto Cami, 202,154 leks; and Lenka Cuko, 283,220 leks." The Higher Appeal Court has also reduced by a total of 13 years the sentences given by the Appeal Court to the blockmen. Qirjako Mihali, Foto Cami, and Lenka Cuko profit most from this, with reductions of two years each. The others' sentences are reduced by one year each.

The final stage of the blockmen's trial began at 1230 in the Higher Appeal Court. As the law demands, this time the accused were not present in court, and only their lawyers faced the bench of three. The blockmen's defense was heard for the last time for almost 40 minutes, as their lawyers asked for a reduction in their sentences, considering them to be "excessively severe". Prokop Murra's lawyer asked for a review of the verdicts of the Tirana District Court and of the Appeals Court that had among other things stripped him of the decorations and medals he had received. "At least let the decorations awarded for the period of the National Liberation War be recognized."

Only a few minutes sufficed to read the accusations and to come to the end of this vitally important trial. Now the accusations have also been finally defined. The Higher Appeal Court has left intact the charge leveled by Tirana District Court of "creating social inequality by colluding to create privileges," and has overthrown the Appeal Court's "collusion for the abuse of office." Judge Nika also left in force the decision to remove titles and decorations, refusing to make an exception, as Prokop Murra's defense counsel had requested, for those awarded for the period of the war.

## Opposition Journalists Face 'Greater Threat'

*AU2003184094 Lezhe KOHA JONE in Albanian 18 Mar 94 p 3*

[T. Cela article: "Can Radio and Television That Speak Albanian Be Considered Albanian?"]

[Text] The situation that the independent and opposition Albanian press is experiencing is among the most difficult, or, not to mince words, most alarming that it has ever experienced. Journalists were not as much under threat as they are today even in the days when the system was changing, in the first days of pluralism, nor in the days of severe political tensions with strikes and upheavals. When we say that we have won freedom today, have gained democracy, and no longer live under a dictatorship, we nevertheless have many more journalists before the courts, in the prosecutors' offices, and in prison. We have today more journalists than ever before hit on the head with iron bars, and a journalist is frightened to walk on the street lest he be charged and imprisoned for stepping over the white lines. A journalist today is frightened of drinking coffee with an acquaintance, because he can be charged and imprisoned as an accomplice, and you cannot say that someone in power is incompetent because you will be charged and imprisoned for slander. Thus, journalists are under greater threat today than ever. These threats come from two directions, from the state and the street—from the state with handcuffs for the wrists, and from the street with an iron bar for the head.

To make known and protest these threats, the Professional Journalists Association held a news conference last Saturday [12 March] for Albanian and foreign journalists and representatives of the diplomatic corps accredited to Tirana, a news conference widely reported by some Albanian newspapers. However, what made a greater impression was the way in which the state media handled it. Albanian Television, which had its journalists present in the hall, did not report a single word about this news conference that was so important for the threatened journalists, not a word about extreme and unjust prison sentences, and not a word about physical menaces. Meanwhile, the BBC's Albanian language service from London devoted a prominent eight-minute feature to the news conference, with interviews with participants. The ET3 television station also came to Tirana from Greece with a camera and a microphone, interviewing the association's chairman, Prec Zogaj, and presidium member Aleksander Frangaj, who had spent one month in prison.

Albanian Radio-Television's [RTSh] ridiculousness is thus obvious: It does not report problems that worry the independent and opposition press or death threats against these journalists. Europe, London, and Athens turn out to be closer than Tirana (by Tirana, I mean RTSh). Who is it who is making Albanian journalists beholden to foreign associations, newspapers, and radio and television stations and making them say, "Shame on Tirana?" Who are these people who are sullying the name of RTSh, obliging Albanians to turn away from the only Albanian channel and watch and listen to foreign stations to find out what is happening in Albania? Seen from this point of view, the question inevitably arises of whether the only radio and television station that speaks Albanian can be considered Albanian.

It is a real scandal that today, when it is claimed that something has been won in the direction of freedom, Albanians should huddle around foreign radio stations in order to find out what is happening in Albania. It reminds one precisely of the early days of changes in Albania, when we were working to bring down the dictatorship, and when Albanians gathered at home at 1830 in order to listen to Voice of America as the only station that then reported developments and activities of those who were in opposition to the state and were working against the dictatorship. At that time, RTSh defended that state and the dictatorship. Today too, RTSh defends the state. The opposition, independent thinking, and events or activities that comment on or conflict with the political regime of today can only be learned about on foreign stations. This shows that this regime is scared of the truth.

### Zhelev Supports Elections, 'Probably in Fall'

*AU1803175594 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 18 Mar 94*

[Text] In a brief interview for the "Around the World and at Home" program on Bulgarian National Television, which will be transmitted in an hour's time, President Zhelyu Zhelev said that he has visited Prime Minister Berov and that the prime minister's health continues to improve. This was announced in a release from the press center of the Presidency.

According to the release, the president said that early elections should be held, probably in the fall.

In the interview the president supported the demand made by the chief editors of 15 central newspapers that press publications should not be subject to value-added tax. He stressed the responsibility of the media for checking the authenticity of the information they disseminated. The president specifically mentioned certain insinuations [passage indistinct].

### Zhelev Urged To Take Active Role in 'Crisis'

*AU2103112894 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 16 Mar 94 p 3*

[Irina Yordanova commentary: "President Must Look Crisis in Eye"]

[Text] For a week now Bulgaria has been on the operating table. The picture of the illness is clear, for the symptoms have appeared repeatedly during the year since Berov's cabinet assumed office. The crisis erupted this week.

Bulgaria does not have a budget. Only a few days after the National Budget Bill was adopted, the national currency was devalued almost 25 percent. Increasing the basic interest rate will help to block the economy completely.

In a few days time we will know whether Bulgaria will receive a stand-by credit. Experts are convinced that, against the background of the crisis, there is little chance of reaching an agreement with the international finance institutions. Apparently, our state currency reserves are back at the level of 8 November 1991. In April the price of electricity and heating will increase. The Khan Kubrat vessel reaches Serbia with a full cargo, and returns empty....

At the moment no one in Bulgaria is responsible for all this.

[Deputy Prime Ministers] Matinchev and Karabashev quarrel publicly. Lukanov says that the government is wonderful, and forgets about the promised cabinet changes. At their plenum the Socialists declare that they are relying on Berov. They are relying on a sick man who has undergone surgery to strengthen a state that is currently under the scalpel of an economic and political crisis. Ludzhev, Tomov, and the rest seek escape in the memories of 1990-91. Everyone tries to escape the present.

According to Article 108 of the Constitution the prime minister alone is responsible for the actions of the government. Each of the ministers is responsible for his own actions and not for the cabinet as a whole.

A long time ago the Union of Democratic forces called the Berov cabinet the government of irresponsibility. Today this definition applies to the entire state.

The head of state observes the political crisis from Paris, from above, or from the sidelines. In a normal state with such an abnormal situation the president would be holding urgent talks with the political forces. If Bulgaria wants to be a democratic state, then urgent institutional measures to solve the situation must be adopted. Appeals to the people and Sunday radio interviews are hardly a serious means of saving a state that is lying on the operating table.

President Zhelev should look the crisis in the eye.

### Defense Minister Addresses Assembly on Army

*AU1803145494 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 12 Mar 94 pp 1, 3*

["Statement by Minister of Defense Valentin Aleksandrov in the National Assembly on 11 March": "Dialogue Is Only Civilized Method Under Democracy]

[Text] Esteemed Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen:

Essentially, the petition of the Rakovski Officers Legion is largely addressed to parliament. The officers' intention was to convene in front of parliament after 13 March and submit the petition to the deputies. The petition contains three demands:

First: The demand to adopt the military budget requested by the experts of the General Staff. This involves the absurd figure of 37 billion leva. The matter has already been decided. The budget has been adopted. It is already law. Everyone must implement it. Whoever does not want to implement it has no place in the army.

Second: The demand to the people's representatives that they pass legislation to establish a concept of the "citizen in uniform." I think there will be a high degree of consensus on this matter with the adoption of the Law on the Armed Forces.

Such a concept exists in the German and Austrian armies. Other armies do not have such a concept. The concept would provide professional, legal, and social guarantees for the Bulgarian military. It is a very delicate issue, because it is a political-legal issue.

I must admit to you that as defense minister I am not inclined to accept the General Staff's interpretation in all its points, and say this for one simple reason, which is

demonstrated by the fact that this is the thrid successive petition organized by the Rakovski Legion. Public awareness is not so high that we can allow complete freedom, especially in the armed forces. In one way or another, the army is based on subordination; it voluntarily accepts a certain limitation of individual rights, and anyone who becomes an officer should be well aware of this.

Third: A demand that was the basic element of this 21-point document, namely, that the president, the National Assembly chairman, the ministers of defense, internal affairs, and finance, and the chief of General Staff, discuss together with the trade unions the serious situation and our national security problems, and put forward real measures to deal with them.

This essentially is our job. Thus this third demand was no more than a storm in a teacup.

I do not think there is much point in reading the whole petition out here. It contains 21 points, some of which cannot be taken seriously. If we exclude the demand regarding the budget, which is essentially a political matter, there can be no doubt that the other demands, albeit debatable and poorly formulated, are justified to a point. This applies especially to the demands having to do with the social sphere and the material situation of the officers.

Another important thing is that these demands of the military are nothing new. I have twice made statements here in the National Assembly on these matters. The chief of General Staff has done the same. These demands have been put forward for public discussion since the legion was founded. I am sure you will support many of them. Their implementation as real policy requires several things. First—goodwill. I am sure we all have a lot of it. However, there are two other things—the law and finances. You certainly will soon debate the draft law. However, this year there will be no more money, and every army officer must understand this. There will be and cannot be any compromises in this respect. For me as minister of defense, these demands have another dimension, namely, the means used to try to resolve these problems. Unfortunately, the means by which some of the Legion officers decided to seek implementation of their absolutely correct demands are unlawful, and thus for me—inadmissible. This is a clear case of violating the Constitution and military regulations, something that allows of no compromise.

Now for the second part of the issue. The reasons for the penalties. The basic reason was the attempt to eliminate once and for all the tendency to an increase in irregular and unlawful actions on the part of the military.

First, I would like to say that democracy has its limits and that will not allow those limits to be violated or crossed in the army.

Urgent measures had to be adopted because the lack of any reaction on our part when signatures were collected for a petition in defense of the former officer, Lyutskanov, created the impression among some people that they could act with impunity and total freedom—something inadmissible under conditions of subordination.

Second, I would like to state this to the Bulgarian parliament with total clarity: Individual representatives of certain political forces are trying to manipulate from a political point of view some members of the Legion. Here the principle is clear: Every attempt to politicize the army, especially through its interference in the activity of state bodies or through issuing unrealistic demands to the detriment of other parts of society, must be finally eliminated.

It is easy to demand money. It is difficult to say where this money could come from.

Third, my order was not directed against the Legion and there is no conflict between the Rakovski Officer Legion and the Ministry of Defense. My order applies to officers, members of the Legion, who violated the laws of the country and the Armed Forces' regulations. There are and cannot be no compromises in this sphere.

The penalties that I imposed totally correspond to their specific violation. Captain Second Rank Vasil Danov was dismissed from the army on disciplinary grounds for systematic violations of discipline through instigation, and support of and participation in actions that undermine the prestige of the Bulgarian Army.

I would like to draw your attention to the fact that at the beginning of the year Nikolay Slatinski, chairman of the National Assembly National Security Commission, addressed an open letter to me with a request to draw the attention of the Armed Forces' prosecutor to the behavior of Captain Vasil Danov. Then I thought that he is a young man, he got carried away, etc., but now I see that this was a system of actions, and therefore, the consequences were clear. He was fired the same day. It was he who described the Rakovski Legion's letter as a "bloody letter," [referring to the letter written with blood by revolutionary Todor Kableshkov in April 1876, announcing the beginning of the April 1876 insurrection against the Turks], and as an overt rebellion. This was published in the newspapers, and I must say that the reaction in the army was none too positive.

Furthermore, Mr. Danov is a founding member of a new political organization, I do not know whether you have heard of it, called National Accord. As a rank and file officer he did not have the right to be a member of such organizations. He signed a declaration to this effect. This in itself is sufficient reason to fire him immediately. The participation of officers in such organizations creates unpleasant associations in areas related to the Ministry of Defense. I am convinced that I acted correctly, because it turned out that a large part of the people who signed the petition, especially in Khaskovo, were not aware of the complex character of the situation in which they found themselves. I must tell you that already on

the following day three deputy defense ministers, three deputy heads of the General Staff, and military jurists visited the headquarters of the armies and talked to officers up to the rank of regimental commanders. Many things were cleared up during those talks. Obviously, the boys in Khaskovo have been manipulated. The Legion's leadership also has been manipulated, because only one of its members signed the declaration, while it was published on behalf of the entire Legion. This simply was not true.

Esteemed ladies and gentlemen, people's representatives, in the difficult situation that has developed in the country and the army we must not delude ourselves that there will be no officers, and civilians and politicians who would not sympathize with the officers whom I punished. The fear of restructuring, which is inevitable under this military budget, the cuts, and elimination of certain posts, prompt the military to express solidarity with anyone who demands a pay increase for the military.

In this manner one could speculate, implant harmful illusions, and turn the situation into an explosive one.

Yesterday we received the results of a sociological study in the army, which I commissioned. It shows that unfortunately, populism has found fertile soil in the army. This especially applies to garrisons, which are in a more difficult situation. I repeat, I cannot allow anyone to play with fire. I prefer the discontent with the penalties that I imposed, which could emerge among part of the officers and sergeants, to disseminating the delusion that more funds could be found through applying pressure on the cabinet, parliament, or myself.

The discontent with an order is less important than the possibility of polarizing the army through petitions, declarations, bloody letters, and so forth.

The situation in the army is very grave and if actions that are prompted by orders are not finally, radically, and once and for all stopped, the situation could become uncontrollable. As long as I am the minister of defense, I will not allow this.

With my order I only showed that their demands cannot be granted in this way, and that I will not allow the army to be led with petitions from the bottom to the top.

Dialogue is the only civilized method that is legally established in the army under conditions of democracy. I am always prepared for such dialogue. I have used this and I believe in it. This is precisely why I had a meeting yesterday with the leadership of the Rakovski Officer Legion. This organization is a legitimate organization, registered by the court, and not an handful of pretenders who write and sign "bloody letters" and declarations.

At that meeting four of the participants called the declaration an "immature act," and admitted its obvious political character. BULGARSKA ARMIYA has carried an extensive report on this matter and I do not want to bother you with it.

I would like to talk more often about those issues and I am always ready to come to parliament. I will present the demands and petition to the Secretariat, and we will do everything possible to adopt amendments at the second reading of the draft law that will prevent similar developments. I hope that we will be able to meet some of the officers' demands, but, let us not delude ourselves, we cannot meet all of them.

Thank you for your attention.

## Customs' Role in Sanction Breaches Questioned

*AU2103095394 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 16 Mar 94 p 12*

[Plamen Enchev commentary: "Khan Kubrat on Hudson River"]

[Text] After the "Bulgarian umbrella" and the attempt on the life of Pope John Paul II, Bulgaria has again been on the lips of journalists and its name printed on the front pages of the world's press. Ironic as it may sound, this time the code name is "Khan Kubrat"—the vessel named after the founder of the Bulgarian state. This name can now be found in the UN Security Council's protocols. However, to judge by the noise made by some people ignorant of geography, one would think that the violator of the embargo on what is left of Yugoslavia did not sail along the Danube but along the Hudson River.

Only on 15 March, after the world organization had already expressed its opinion on the case, did Sofia remember to convene the Government Commission on UN Sanctions, and charge various departments with related tasks. From the official statement after the meeting it is now clear that the officials who allowed the scandalous escape or kidnapping of the vessel and the oil tankers will be held responsible. The incident took place on 3 March. There is a saying that fits this situation—it is called locking the stable door after the horse has bolted.

What Sofia's reaction would have been if the UN Security Council's statement had not been in our favor is interesting. Perhaps we would again have adopted measures and programs on observing the Yugoembargo.

The waiting position of the official authorities was evident throughout the entire case of the fugitive vessel—from the first clear signs at the end of January that something was amiss with the vessel and its cargo to the strange circumstances surrounding the arrest and release of the majority of the crew.

Even more questions arise if you believe the stories of the sailors who made the pleasure trip to Prahovo and returned home unencumbered. Something is wrong with the whole scenario. The Yugoslav side could not provide a satisfactory explanation either, but of course this is

understandable. More than 5,000 tonnes of oil are important for the state subjected to the embargo, and in the eyes of the Serbs the high price is justifiable.

The question, however, is what is the Bulgarian point of view? Officially we declare that we observe the embargo, but, on the other hand, our position regarding the criminal violations that take place from time to time is, to put it mildly, a position of purely registering the violations. We even reached the point when foreign observers of the Yugoembargo claim that Bulgarian customs officials are corrupt. So far no one has officially confirmed these accusations. In addition, no one has explained why the customs officials allowed the Khan Kubrat, for which they were responsible at the port of Somovit, to escape.

On 15 March the port was closed to oil transporters. DUMA has learned that there are at least 40 additional tanker-tugs in this port, all of them of unclear origin and final destination. Hundreds of railroad tanker cars, the property of phantom companies, are traveling between various railroad stations. The time bomb is ticking away, and when it explodes, the echo will be heard in the city on the banks of the Hudson.

We have already been positively mentioned once in New York, something that made us famous. Should we risk a second assessment because of purely domestic reasons?

We have no solid guarantee that we will be praised again.

## Romanian 'Homegrown Nationalists' Claiming Land

*AU1803192894 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 13 Mar 94 p 6*

[Unattributed editorial: "Hands Off Dobrudzha!"]

[Text] Illegal and unrecognized organizations are pouring out threats and sharpening their shears regarding Bulgaria, while the Romanian leaders simply stay mum when the issue of these actions by their homegrown nationalists is raised.

To put it mildly, the top statesmen in Bucharest are protecting them and say nothing when they reveal their appetites for "the ancient Romanian lands."

The "Great Romania" Organization has itself admitted in a letter that it is acting under the authorities' wing. Again, Prime Minister Vacaroiu is reported to have told the parliament speaker not to provide any information about the "Romanian Guard."

The nationalism game in the Balkans has reaped enough victims this century. It is time for the people in Bucharest to remember that we are living in a powder keg, so they should refrain from making territorial claims.

Alternatively, they should proclaim their claims openly, instead of hiding behind real or fictitious organizations.

## Compensation Demanded for UN Sanctions

*AU1803173294 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 16 Mar 94 p 2*

[Article by "ru, li": "State Demands Compensation for Damages Resulting From Compliance With UN Embargoes"]

[Text] Prague—The Czech Republic has lost billions [currency not specified] as a result of economic sanctions declared by the UN Security Council against various countries. It is likely, however, that at least a part of these losses will be compensated by UN bodies.

Damage resulting from the economic embargo imposed on Serbian-Montenegrin Yugoslavia in June 1992 was estimated at $290 million (approximately 8.56 billion Czech korunas [Kc]) late last year. The bulk of this sum, $260 million, is made up of claims by foreign trade companies for goods delivered before the embargo was imposed. The goods in question were mostly engineering products, vehicles, and some chemicals, Jiri Vetrovsky, director of the Ministry of Finance Foreign Exchange Department, stated.

In an explanatory statement on the bill, by means of which the Czech Republic joined the sanctions, the government voices the expectation that losses resulting from observance of the sanctions will be addressed in negotiations with the UN Security Council.

Of the countries that apply sanctions against Yugoslavia, the impact of the embargo is felt mostly severely by Romania, Bulgaria, and Hungary. Hungary's losses have already exceeded the sum of $1.3 billion. Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs Geza Jeszenszky proposed the establishment of a UN fund, from which assistance would be given to states adhering to the embargo. Peace mediator David Owen also called for the compensation of losses last month.

For losses incurred in connection with the conflict in the Persian Gulf, in the course of which an embargo had been imposed on Iraq and Kuwait, the Czech Republic claims, for the time being, a compensation of approximately Kc7.3 billion. It is asserting this claim through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with the UN Compensation Commission.

A total of 42 organizations suffered losses as a result of the embargo, of which 19 meet the UN conditions for compensation. The main part of the damages, worth about Kc5.5 billion, is accounted for by claims for unpaid deliveries to Iraq and Kuwait. The remainder results from unsalable inventories, outstanding interest payments for credits extended under duress, and damage to property.

## NATO Membership 'Necessity' for Security

*AU1903140494 Prague CESKY DENIK in Czech 17 Mar 94 p 1*

[CTK report: "Joining NATO Is a Necessity for the Czech Republic"]

[Text] Stara Boleslav [Central Bohemia]—According to Vladimir Suman (Civic Democratic Alliance), chairman of the parliamentary Defense and Security Committee, the Czech Republic cannot withstand the most outstanding security risks on its own.

The risks are the uncertain development in the former USSR, aggressive nationalism and its demonstrations, and the advance of organized crime, the chairman said. According to Suman, the war in former Yugoslavia may serve as an example that border changes cannot be achieved by force. Yesterday, at a meeting between the Committee deputies and the command officers of the 4th Air Defense Division, Suman described joining NATO as a necessity for the Czech Republic because, according to him, it is the only way to withstand these risks. He considers "playing" with other possibilities to be irresponsible toward the citizens.

## Havel on Relations With Slovakia, Germany

*LD2003170794 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1315 GMT 20 Mar 94*

[Interview with President Vaclav Havel by station editor Robert Tamchyna; place and date not given: "Conversations at Lany"—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Tamchyna] Mr. President, in the last edition of these conversations, you spoke in great detail about the current political situation in Slovakia. This week was marked there by the appointment of the new government and the parliament's approval of the date of the early elections this fall. Could it be said that the political crisis has been successfully resolved?

[Havel] I do not think the latest developments mark the end of the crisis in Slovakia and the beginning of an era of stability. For numerous and varied reasons, real stability of the Slovak political scene and the creation of a political culture necessary for the peaceful development of the country are still some distance away.

Nevertheless, it is undoubtedly an important and good move; it is a move in the right direction. I would not say it is a victory of some over others. I would say it is a victory for the parliament concept, a victory for democracy. [passage omitted] The whole process was free of chaos, uncertainty, lawlessness, and so on.

As far as the government is concerned, I do not wish to provide any assessments or comments on it. I believe it will be a hard-working and nonconfrontational government.

It might be relevant to comment briefly on the new Slovak prime minister, Mr. Moravcik, whom I know quite well because, at the time I was federal president, he was federal minister of foreign affairs. Thus, I had quite a lot to do with him. We went to the CSCE summit in Helsinki together. I must say that my cooperation with him was exceptionally good. He is an accommodating and very decent person, who does not miss an opportunity to either express thanks for a job well done or praise it. At the same time, he is a person who expresses himself openly and yet politely if his views differ from those of others. I liked cooperating with him.

I think he is a decent man. I believe that a climate of democracy and a spirit of dialogue and cooperation will prevail in the government because these will indeed be necessary. After all, it is the government where, on the one hand, there is the Party of the Democratic Left and, on the other, there is the Christian Democratic Movement. This means that both poles of the political spectrum are present there. Without a real will for compromise, for search for compromise, for cooperation and dialogue, the government could find its work difficult. Let us hope it will succeed, and, above all, let us hope the result of the next elections is good and that this leads to a calmer period in Slovakia's political life.

[Tamchyna] I have no idea whether you encountered anything of this kind in your circles, but, speaking for myself, it felt as if some reactions to the current events in Slovakia emanated an unconcealed joy that this political crisis no longer affects us and that the Slovaks should deal with this in their own way. Is this not a little dangerous?

[Havel] This is a phenomenon I have frequently criticized, a phenomenon I do not like and one that I tend to brand Czech provincialism. [passage omitted]

This policy is completely shortsighted, and the social climate or social mentality promoting this policy is no good, either. We have paid a high price for it in our modern history. This could be documented by many examples. I think that, just as we should not be indifferent to what is taking place in Bosnia-Herzegovina, we should not be indifferent to what is happening in other neighboring countries or in more distant countries. We should all the more not be indifferent to what is going on in Slovakia because Slovakia is our immediate neighbor. Together with Slovakia, we have had many good and bad experiences. There are thousands of threads binding us together with this neighbor. Although we are two independent states now, neither state should interfere in political developments of the other state or influence its history. We must follow each other's actions very attentively and support everything that will facilitate good mutual cooperation. [passage omitted]

[Tamchyna] Mr. President, you have mentioned several times in conversation, even here at Lany, the necessity of compensating our citizens for injustices perpetrated against them during World War II. The Czech Government has now stipulated conditions for the so-called humanitarian gesture toward victims of Nazism. Are you not concerned that this humanitarian gesture, based on the amount to be divided among an exact number of victims, could provoke ill will or an inappropriate reaction?

[Havel] I think—and it was repeated often enough—that injustices cannot be undone. There are injustices that simply cannot be undone. No one could ever be compensated for spending 10 years in a Nazi concentration camp or in a communist prison, or for not being able to work in his profession for a whole lifetime, even if he were given a million korunas. What we are trying to do, with varied degree of success, is to mitigate these injustices, to demonstrate that we are aware of injustices having been perpetrated. Naturally, it is important that this gesture of providing 1 billion korunas should also express our knowledge of the suffering our compatriots had to endure during World War II; it should show that we are not indifferent to it. We want somehow to demonstrate our awareness of it without any hint of suggestion that this amount would in some way remove the suffering endured.

I think it is very good, and it is not important what you call this. It is very important to realize that this gesture of our government does not mean giving up negotiations with Germany about what used to be called compensation, which was paid to many other countries in the form of restitution but which did not happen in our case for various reasons beyond our control.

However, we think that this compensation, which the German Government also called a humanitarian gesture for its own legal reasons, is due us, and we are not giving up. These negotiations will continue, and I consider it my own personal duty. I have been engaged in numerous talks on this issue. [passage omitted]

I do not consider the matter closed. On the contrary, I firmly believe that we will succeed in getting this settlement with Germany. It will undoubtedly contribute toward cleansing our relations with this big and important neighbor.

### Government To Finish Filling Cabinet Posts

*LD2103085594 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 0600 GMT 21 Mar 94*

[Text] The parties of the new government coalition should agree on the final filling of all government and ministerial posts, including the posts of state secretaries, at their talks in Bratislava today. This was stated by Prime Minister Jozef Moravcik on yesterday's "Kroky" TV program.

Deputy Prime Minister Roman Kovac added that the heads of government bureaus would also be named within a short period of time so that the government could start working fully. Roman Kovac described as a new feature the fact that the coalition agreement to be signed today takes into account cooperation with the partners from [ethnic] Hungarian parties.

### President's Conduct at Clinton Meeting Defended

*AU1703193094 Bratislava SME in Slovak 15 Mar 94 p 2*

[Interview with Jozef Moravcik, former minister of foreign affairs and prime minister-designate, by Ivan Stulajter; place and date not given: "Michal Kovac's Course of Action During the Meeting With Bill Clinton Was in No Way Unusual"]

[Text] [Stulajter] Speaking about the meeting of representatives of the Visegrad Four countries with U.S. President Bill Clinton in Prague, in his address to the National Council of the Slovak Republic on Friday [11 March], Vladimir Meciar said that this was an opportunity to "tackle the security and economic interests of the Slovak Republic, to tackle cooperation and bilateral relations between the United States and Slovakia. We had worked out a great deal in this regard, but, out of 40 minutes [reserved for the meeting], President Kovac had reserved 34 minutes for himself, for a one-sided speech prepared in writing. I did not have a chance." From the viewpoint of protocol, what role was assigned to the prime ministers of the Visegrad Four countries at the talks with Bill Clinton?

[Moravcik] I do not know how the other representatives of the Visegrad Four countries conducted their talks. It is quite common in diplomatic practice that the main and sometimes exclusive role at talks is played by the delegation head, which was the president of the Slovak Republic.

[Stulajter] Which subject matters did the talks with the U.S. President touch upon?

[Moravcik] The talks focused on issues concerning security, participation in the Partnership for Peace project, Slovakia's foreign policy orientation, open foreign policy problems, and the expansion of bilateral relations.

[Stulajter] Would it have been possible to sign any documents in Prague?

[Moravcik] No signing of documents had been planned.

[Stulajter] Was Slovak President Michal Kovac's course of action during the talks with Bill Clinton unusual in any way, compared with the normal practice?

[Moravcik] I do not consider anything that happened unusual.

[Stulajter] How do you assess the visit from your point of view?

[Moravcik] The talks fulfilled the basic aim. They emphasized our interest in integration into the Euro-Atlantic security system, our acceptance of the offer to participate in the Partnership for Peace project, and our interest in the development of bilateral relations, especially in the sphere of economic cooperation.

### Moravcik Lists 'Chief Objectives' of Goverment

*LD1703173094 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 17 Mar 94*

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] At the beginning of today's parliament session, Prime Minister Jozef Moravcik first introduced the members of his Cabinet, with the exception of two who are abroad.

Then he delivered a short speech that focused on the chief objectives of the new Slovak Government.

[Begin Moravcik recording] Everyone who was born in Slovakia, everyone who lives here and considers Slovakia his or her homeland, is, for us, a loyal citizen of this state. The government will protect his or her freedom and democratic rights, including the right to criticize the government.

I would like to emphasize, in this respect, that it is against our national interests if people are divided because of their nationality, ethnic group, or any other allegiance.

We consider it necessary to create space for the initiative of individual citizens, particularly in the economy. The advancement of business is a prerequisite and a guarantee for prosperity of democratic society. To create space for individual initiative means, above all, to continue economic transformations more effectively. The state still owns too many enterprises. Privatization is part of solving economic problems in society. When privatization gets out of hand and all ethical values are negated, the result is wild privatization, a wolfish struggle instead of an organized procedure. This, undoubtedly, deepens the crisis of ethical values in society.

If the government is to support business, the state's financial system must be completed. Among other things, this means abandoning putting excessive emphasis on the fiscal angle and creating space for individual initiative.

Social security is an area with acute problems. There is a need to emphasize greater individual responsibility for social security of individuals. When this individual responsibility fails, state support takes over. In this system, too, it is necessary to reserve a greater space for the involvement of specialist nonstate institutions, endowments, and charitable institutions.

The development of the nonprofit sector reinforces civic solidarity, which should be important to us.

More significant progress in creating a new image of Slovakia, along the lines I have mentioned, cannot be implemented without the advancement of science and education. Education is an important value and a guarantee for future prosperity. We are losing speed in this area. We cannot go on delaying finding solutions to the problems in this area.

I would also like to speak briefly about the foreign political aspects of the government's policy. I would like to say clearly that Slovakia's foreign political strategy is not changing from the concept endorsed by the Slovak parliament. I will promote those elements that lead to deepening cooperation with and integration into European economic, political, and security systems and groups. In the same way, we shall accentuate our interest in good-neighborly relations with the neighbors of Slovakia.

What we need for this policy to succeed is to make our internal policy credible. Not everything I have mentioned can be secured and fulfilled in the time available to this government. This government is to get Slovakia to early parliamentary elections. We are prepared to make full use of the time to create foundations for development in the directions I have outlined.

### Supports Economic Change, Integration

*AU1803184494 Vienna Oesterreich Eins Radio Network in German 1700 GMT 18 Mar 94*

[Report on interview with Slovak Prime Minister Jozef Moravcik by Joana Radzyner on 18 March; place not given; Moravcik speaks in Slovak with superimposed German translation—recorded]

[Text] [Radzyner] There are only six months to go before the new elections. However, the new head of government is confident that there is time enough to convince the Slovak population of its work. It was not primarily a rejection of former Prime Minister Meciar that united five former opposition parties but, rather, a common political concept, Jozef Moravcik pointed out.

[Moravcik] All five political parties see the need to accelerate the process of economic transformation and to press ahead with European integration. All five want to develop a political culture that is based on the principles of democracy adopted by the November revolution in 1989. This political culture will help us in our communication with our partners in Europe and on the other side of the Atlantic.

[Radzyner] In the sphere of domestic policies, these new principles mean, above all, Slovakia's recognition as a society with different ethnic groups, in which the members of the Hungarian minority will become Slovak citizens with equal rights. Still, Moravcik has not appointed a representative of the Hungarian minority as a Cabinet member. Was he afraid of Meciar? Meciar has already denounced the new government as the traitor of the true interests of the true Slovaks.

[Moravcik] It is true that we took this into consideration. After all, we do not want to trigger a new wave of nationalism. This would be in contradiction with our political goals.

[Radzyner] Moravcik claims that he has excellent relations with Czech Prime Minister Klaus, who was the last Czechoslovak foreign minister. In Budapest, the new tones regarding the Hungarian minority will certainly initiate good relations.

### Minister Views Foreign Relations Issues

*LD2003163394 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1600 GMT 20 Mar 94*

[Text] The change of government in Slovakia has evoked a positive response abroad, Eduard Kukan, the new foreign minister, said in the "Kroky" TV program.

Regarding relations with neighboring countries, he said that he is not very optimistic about whether it will be possible for the government to comprehensively resolve relations with the Czech Republic and Hungary during its six months in office. A peaceful atmosphere, however, must be created first of all.

As to the U.S. press, he noted that it views Slovakia as a naughty child. That is why it is the role of the new diplomacy to provide an objective picture of Slovakia.

### Finance Minister on 'Most Sensitive' Issues

*LD1703174094 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 17 Mar 94*

[Interview with new Slovak Finance Minister Rudolf Filkus by an unidentified correspondent at the Bratislava Castle in Bratislava on 16 March—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Correspondent] Minister, what do you regard are the most sensitive issues facing you in your new job?

[Filkus] It is certainly the budget. I am not saying that we shall have to revise it. We shall nonetheless have to subject it to an appraisal from the viewpoint of revenues and expenditure. The situation in sectors that are dependent solely on revenues they receive from the state budget, such as the health, educational, and cultural sectors, is especially bad. We shall have to take another look at them. [passage omitted]

The problem I shall have to start tackling beginning tomorrow is to report to the public and signal to it that I

have taken over the economy in such a state, with such currency reserves, such a budget deficit, such a degree of unemployment, such a relationship between the growth of labor productivity and wages. My task will be to inform the public about macroeconomic options we have.

[Correspondent] What kind of picture have you formed about steps you shall have to take regarding the very burning problem of the stability of money?

[Filkus] First, I believe the center that is to look after the stability of money is the National Bank. It possesses basic macroeconomic criteria with which it can judge what to do or not do within the framework of the stability. You must surely have in mind the process of devaluation and the like. This must be done by the bank in accordance with its own judgement. The Finance Ministry ought not to interefere in this matter. The Finance Ministry may give assistance, but the consideration and decision should be made by the National Bank only in accordance with the criteria the bank has at its disposal. No one should interefere in this process.

## HZDS Chairman Meciar Seeks Another Referendum

*AU1803133994*

[Editorial Report] Slovak newspapers on 17 March publish reports indicating that the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] is considering launching a referendum on the expression of no-confidence in President Kovac.

Bratislava SME in Slovak on 17 March on page 1, under the headline "Meciar in Favor of a Fourth Referendum Question," carries a 150-word unattributed report on HZDS Chairman Vladimir Meciar's reaction to the announcement by the Presidential Office that the HZDS-initiated petition for a referendum failed to collect the required number of 350,000 "valid" signatures. The report states: "Vladimir Meciar said yesterday, 'I know from reliable sources that 368,000 valid citizens [as published] had expressed themselves in favor of the referendum. However, because they [officials from the legislative department of the Presidential Office] said that giving the place of residence is not enough and that the term place of residence must be understood to include the street and the exact address, they managed to pull down the number to under 300,000, to only slightly over 200,000. Such an explanation of the shortage [of signatures] and termination of the operation amounts to contempt for the law and the citizen.' Asked what the further course of action by the HZDS would be, Vladimir Meciar replied, 'There will be another petition, this time with a fourth question.'"

Bratislava SLOVENSKY DENNIK in Slovak on 17 March on page 2, under the headline "Another Referendum in Slovakia?," carries the following TA SR report: "A referendum in which citizens ought to express their confidence in President Michal Kovac is demanded by some HZDS district organizations, a TA SR correspondent learned from reliable sources. Even though the HZDS leadership has not yet decided whether and when a referendum with such contents should be held, petition committees have already been set up in some districts."

## NATO's Woerner Cited on Planes Over B-H

*LD1803235494 Budapest Duna TV in Hungarian 2000 GMT 18 Mar 94*

[Text] This afternoon NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner gave an exclusive interview to Laszlo Mecs, DUNA Television's Brussels correspondent. The topic of their conversation centered on information that appeared in certain papers over the weekend about NATO reconnaissance planes staying in Hungary's airspace and their role in settling the Bosnian crisis.

[Begin Woerner recording, in English fading into Hungarian translation] First, allow me to state that the information I have heard up till now is misleading and does not represent the official NATO stance. Now I will outline our organization's official stance:

What NATO is doing is not a war maneuver; it is only supporting and asserting those prohibitive resolutions the United Nations has taken. These two resolutions are No. 781 and No. 816, which prescribe a military ban for entire nations and regional organizations.

What NATO is doing is to help the UN implement what it has decided. What Hungary has done, and is doing now as well, is to support the realization of the UN resolutions. I say once again: This is not a war maneuver, but an entire humanitarian action the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] are undertaking in Bosnia. This activity is not directed against any single side, but towards all those who violate the region's peace. Allow me to explain it this way.

At the same time, I do not doubt for one moment that cooperation between the Hungarian Government and NATO is anything but excellent. We both respect the other's activity. Hungary is an independent nation. It can decide to cooperate, and it could also decide not to do so. We are satisfied with what your country has done, and we would like to continue to cooperate with your country. We have no doubt that our relations will continue in the future as well, since this is in the mutual interest of our organization and of your country. [end recording]

## SZDSZ Leader Views MDF Campaign Tactics

*AU1803124994 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 17 Mar 94 pp 1,6*

[Interview with Ivan Peto, chairman of the Alliance of Free Democrats, by Attila Zsoldos; place and date not given: "The MDF Intimidates and Threatens the Voters, SZDSZ Chairman Ivan Peto Said"]

[Text] According to Ivan Peto, the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] has still not understood that a party is one of the elements of political life and is not identical to the population. He also thinks that the biggest governing party builds its campaign on four major elements: the propaganda of success, separating the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] and the Federation of Young Democrats [Fidesz], the intimidation of the electors, and the open threat that chaos would ensue in the country if the opposition parties came to government after the elections. In his interview with NEPSZABADSAG, Peto emphasized that the lasting consequences of a campaign based on the incitement of emotions will have a decisive effect on the period after the elections. However, a forced situation might arise in which the major parliamentary parties have to form closer ties than they have been used to. At the same time, Peto did not see much chance of this forced situation arising. We first asked Peto about his view on the latest campaign statements of the MDF's leading politicians.

[Peto] I can see four major elements in the MDF's campaign. One of these is the propaganda of success, which has been mentioned many times. I do not see any problem in the fact that a party or a government in power tries to convince the people that what they feel is not true and reality is different. However, it is worth analyzing what means they use in the interest of the propaganda of success. I see the fact that the government attributes everything that has happened in this country in the past four years that was not something negative to its own merit as more of a joke than a serious statement. The frequently heard declaration that Hungarian democracy was created by the MDF is more interesting. Although 15 March 1988, when the MDF thought that the commemoration should not be held in the streets, was not very long ago. It was not long ago, either, when precisely the MDF's leaders expressed their disapproval about the politicians of the SZDSZ and the Fidesz having a more outspoken attitude.

However, the propaganda of success also has a more problematic side. The MDF's politicians have a liking for saying that people who dare question that the success propaganda is well founded are in fact questioning the population's successes. In other words, they try to depict those who criticize them in some kind of anti-people light. It is typical of the MDF's self-image that it cannot process or understand the fact that a party is only an element of political life and is not identical to the people.

[Zsoldos] MDF Chairman Lajos Fur recently said that their period of being defensive had ended. What do you think this means?

[Peto] It was obvious that the "fortress under siege" mentality that has always been discerned in the MDF will increase with the approach of the elections. They have always refused criticism whether it came from the press or the opposition, so I do not see any new developments in the MDF's attitude. They only made an exception with the Fidesz because they have reacted to criticism coming from the Fidesz more tolerantly.

[Zsoldos] I do not believe you mention this unintentionally.

[Peto] Interestingly, the MDF has a chosen party among the opposition, namely the Fidesz. It has also been typical of the past four years that—on a political level

and not in individual statements—the MDF's views on the Fidesz have always been very different from those on the SZDSZ. This distinction was particularly strange in those cases when the concepts of the two opposition parties were virtually identical. This is obviously a dual-purpose tactic on the MDF's part. It is trying to divide the Fidesz and the SZDSZ in such a way as to turn the Fidesz into a possible coalition partner for itself.

[Zsoldos] It seems that the Fidesz is an opposition party that is similar to the governmental Christian Democratic People's Party because all significant political forces see it as a potential partner.

[Peto] We can put it this way, but this "positive discrimination" is usually applied to the weak parties. If the Fidesz's election hopes come true, this role will be too narrow for it. The Fidesz would visibly like to get into a position where it is acceptable for everyone. The MDF is making use of this intention when, as the second marked element of its campaign, it is trying to get the Fidesz to break the unity of the liberal parties.

[Zsoldos] You are probably unmoved by this attempt. The Fidesz signed the cooperation agreement of the liberal parties and [Fidesz Chairman] Viktor Orban often emphasized that he considers the contents of this agreement as the norm when forming their policies. In other words, you have no reason to worry, or do you?

[Peto] I am not particularly concerned about this tactic of the MDF's.

[Zsoldos] Nevertheless, you mentioned it.

[Peto] The Fidesz's coalition possibilities will not be determined by the MDF's intentions. After the elections, the MDF will not be in a position to select coalition partners for itself. It might be able to accept offers, at the most.

[Zsoldos] Are you sure about this?

[Peto] I am. I believe that the MDF's parliamentary candidates have now also come to realize this.

[Zsoldos] Why?

[Peto] It is rumored that the citizens are not fighting to shower the MDF with candidate nomination slips.

[Zsoldos] In the interview we mentioned Fur also said that he does not know whether the SZDSZ is actually a left-wing party. In his view, it appears to be one because it is getting increasingly closer to the idea of a coalition with the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP].

[Peto] I do not like these kinds of messages. These issues could be discussed with Fur in a public television debate, for example, if such things existed. As a matter of fact, the interview indicated that Fur does not have a realistic knowledge of the program the SZDSZ represents at the elections.

[Zsoldos] A week ago, you said that people in the provinces still feel that registers are kept on them. Why did you say this?

[Peto] On the basis of my experience. It happens with increasing frequency that people do not like to give candidate nomination slips to opposition parties because they feel that this can have consequences. They are worried that they will be identified on the basis of the personal identification number. In my view, the MDF is responsible for this atmosphere. I believe that intimidation is the third main element of their campaign.

[Zsoldos] But why do you blame the MDF for the worries?

[Peto] Because these people think that if the MDF government had the courage to fire Akos Mester [former chief editor of "168 Ora" program] from the Radio, then it can also destroy the defenseless citizens if they give the nomination slips to opposition parties. If I also add that very many people have received government propaganda material sent to them with their name, address, and personal identification number on it, then it is even clearer why many people feel that they are on registers. From this point of view, the dismissal of the radio workers was a consciously timed and very effective action.

[Zsoldos] What do you think about the views of certain government politicians according to whom chaos will ensue in the country if the opposition comes to government? Is this also part of the intimidation?

[Peto] No, this belongs to the category of threats. I see this as the fourth determining element of the MDF's campaign, and as a proof of what I have said about the MDF's self-image. The foreign political consequences of the "we are the nation and if we are not in power then the nation's power does not prevail" attitude are also rather serious. It is ill-advised to suggest to the world that the democratic elections in Hungary could have some terrible outcome. Naturally, this threat is mainly meant for the Hungarian citizens.

[Zsoldos] To the extent that these statements were made in Hungary, rather than abroad.

[Peto] Unfortunately, not only in Hungary. I was in Transylvania on 15 March and I was told that the Hungarian Foreign Ministry state secretary had been alarming the Hungarians living there that if the SZDSZ came to power, it would seek the favor of the Romanians rather than the Hungarians. However, these kinds of statements have serious consequences even when they are made within the country. With the approach of the elections, even more foreign journalists are coming to Hungary. They and their embassies are watching the media.

[Zsoldos] Do you have any concrete indications that these statements have a negative influence on Hungary's image?

[Peto] There is tangible evidence that foreign political forces that are not close to the MDF consider these campaign measures, how shall I put it, peculiar. The foreign liberal and socialist parties are offended by the fact that a group speaks of parties that represent other political views as an extreme national peril.

[Zsoldos] Do you believe that these campaign elements can significantly influence the outcome of the elections?

[Peto] Naturally, they have an effect on the elections but not a significant one. They are important in the sense that the further consequences of politics based on the incitement of emotions will determine the period after the elections. A campaign that includes these unfair means does not improve relations between the parties. What has happened has happened and cannot be undone.

[Zsoldos] Are you suggesting that the MDF's ability to form a coalition will decrease to the minimum in the SZDSZ's view if it continues the criticized campaign?

[Peto] I am. It also means that the relationship that is formed during the campaign can lastingly determine ties between the two parties even if one is in opposition and the other in government.

[Zsoldos] Relations between the MDF and the SZDSZ have never been good.

[Peto] This is true. However, all cases that further deteriorate the current relationship or reduce the possibility of changing this relationship can have a lasting effect on events.

[Zsoldos] The MDF has verbally excluded the possibility of forming a coalition with the SZDSZ. On the other hand, the SZDSZ has not distanced itself from the MDF in this way. It emphasized that it is open to all democratic forces. Have your views changed?

[Peto] We continue to see the replacement of the current government coalition as one of the most important stakes at the elections. Our most important goal is that the liberal forces—and the SZDSZ within this—achieve the best possible results. There is no point in discussing now what kind of forced situation might arise after the elections.

[Zsoldos] Is it possible for a forced situation to arise in which the MDF and the SZDSZ have to join in a coalition?

[Peto] A forced situation might arise in which the possibility of this kind of coalition is raised. However, this is not a goal for the SZDSZ, in fact, it is absolutely undesirable.

[Zsoldos] Were you thinking of this forced situation when you said that it would be desirable for relations between the two parties not to deteriorate any further?

[Peto] There might be a situation when the two parties have to rise above their own points of view in the country's interest. It is possible that in this situation, the major parliamentary parties have to have a closer than usual relationship. However, this is only one possibility out of the many and I do not see much chance of this happening.

## Poll Shows MSZP Maintaining Lead

*AU1803173794 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 18 Mar 94 pp 1,7*

[Unattributed report: "Voters Are More Uncertain"]

[Text] Voter support for various parties seems to be clear in March 1994, two months before the first round of parliamentary elections, with the supporters of various parties preserving their former character. The Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] continues to firmly maintain its leading position: Some 18 percent of the 937 citizens surveyed by the Szonda Ipsos Institute would vote for the MSZP if elections were held this Sunday. The support for the MSZP has remained practically unchanged over the last five months. The gradual loss of supporters of the Federation of Young Democrats [Fidesz] has continued, with 10 percent of all the people surveyed supporting them; with this figure, it continues to be in second place. The proportion of supporters of the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] dropped by 3 percent; in the case of this party, we are witnessing a break in the slightly upward trend of recent months. Although none of these changes taken separately is considerable, the 5-percent drop in the support of the two liberal parties taken together is considerable.

The support for the other parliamentary parties has remained practically unchanged. Regarding the parties outside parliament, we can say that the extent of their support is far below the threshold needed to make it into Parliament. A new development in this area is that the Agricultural Federation has become a party with a measurable amount of support.

The voters give the MSZP the biggest chance of winning the elections. According to 24 percent of all the people surveyed, the MSZP will receive most votes (compared with only 21 percent in February). Some 11 percent of the people thought that the SZDSZ would win the elections, 6 percent thought the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF], and 6 percent thought the Fidesz.

The most interesting development this month is that the proportion of citizens without a firm party preference reached 41 percent, a figure never achieved before. At the same time, readiness to participate in the elections remained at the high level measured last month (61 percent of the people surveyed are sure they will vote, and 16 percent will probably vote). It is a paradoxical effect of the official start of the election campaign that people who would like to vote have now become uncertain.

## Radio Official Lashes Out at Critics

*LD2003224194 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1900 GMT 20 Mar 94*

[Interview with Laszlo Csucs, deputy chairman of Hungarian Radio, by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Csucs] I cannot be threatened or frightened. But there is one thing that I find very difficult to bear: My family also has to live in this atmosphere of threat. [passage omitted]

The extent of the media war's deterioration surpasses any imagination. And why? Purely and exclusively so that Hungarian Radio can speak to Hungarians and for Hungarians without any exclusion, by using the voice of decency. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] It is often said in various statements that there is a certain power behind you. Let me ask you, who is behind you?

[Csucs] I do not know who you mean, or which party. I have practically no support whatsoever.

[Correspondent] The [word indistinct] of the extreme right was mentioned.

[Csucs] I do not know any extreme right and especially dislike this kind of adjectival locution. [passage omitted] I start out from what the parliament laid down in the budget law. And there is no sense in making politics out of it, about whether the government or the coalition parties or some other parties dominate or not. As long as the management of the institution is in my hand, I try to fulfill the professional requirements of my job to the best of my ability. [passage omitted]

Even people opposing us did not dispute the fact that the level of overstaffing, which has reached the proportion of hydrocephaly, had to be tackled. On the other hand, we have to grab every opportunity to generate our own revenues. [passage omitted]

The reorganization is completed, the government approved the amendment of the operational regulations regarding these institutions, and parallel with the reduction of managerial jobs, ordinary jobs were also cut. However, the way the public was informed, precisely because in essence, almost exclusively in the hand of a particular circle [words indistinct] it was linked to a singularly political tone.

[Correspondent] So what was the motive in sacking the team of "168 Hours" and Akos Mester, their leader?

[Csucs] We can talk about "168 Hours." The supervisory committee evaluated its work not long ago but the listeners have also formed their opinion. Considerable deviation from objective informing can be unequivocally proven in the program. These excesses do not favor the government particularly, rather the opposite. And when I say this as a criticism, I also have to say that I did not expect any program, especially not "168 Hours," to operate as the mouthpiece of the government, but neither do I expect, and what is more, I will not tolerate it operating as the mouthpiece of the opposition. This is a professional matter. [passage omitted]

I also consider it a professional matter that a Hungarian radio should speak to the Hungarians and for the Hungarians, that to profess to be Hungarian and to champion Hungarian interests should not be considered a shame. Hungarians should be given proper information in all matters, about the legislation in order that they should battle through the painful period of transition. Hungarians should not have to sneak close to the wall with their heads down but, in possession of appropriate information, they should walk confortably in their own country with their heads high.

[Correspondent] How long can this situation of being threatened be tolerated? How is your family bearing up to it?

[Csucs] Yes, I can still tolerate it but my family is suffering. The idea was most resolutely formulated that if in Hungary, not only the head of the family but also members of the family are persecuted for pledging Hungarian values, then one has to emmigrate.

From the country's point of view, if these affairs continue and things perhaps deteriorate, it will cause enormous damage. Just as ruining the country's reputation and discrediting it causes enormous damage, and certain radio employees are in the forefront of this. Earlier on I said that this was the betrayal of the nation but I can also say that it is the betrayal of the country. For this I will have to answer to the courts, since I was sued with the aim of financially ruining me. Well, this is where we are.

## Friendship Treaty Initialed With Lithuania

*LD1803133494 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1202 GMT 18 Mar 94*

[Text] Warsaw, 18 Mar—Andrzej Olechowski and Povilas Gylys, the foreign ministers of Poland and Lithuania, today initialed in Warsaw the "Treaty Between the Polish Republic and the Republic of Lithuania on Friendly Relations and Neighborly Cooperation." Both ministers underscored the great importance of this fact to Poland and Lithuania as well as to the entire region.

The ministers announced that the text of the treaty would be published only after it is signed by the presidents of Poland and Lithuania, which is to take place in April.

"Treaties open the future and do not refer to the past," Minister Olechowski said during the ceremony. He added that there had been different, some better and some worse, chapters in the history of Polish-Lithuanian relations, but initialing and signing the treaty would open a new "wonderful and rich" chapter in relations between both states.

Minister Olechowski assured journalists that there were no reasons for concern that the treaty did not guarantee the rights of the Polish minority in Lithuania.

Minister Gylys said that, at the outset of the negotiations, there were considerable differences between both sides but that they were striving for compromise.

## Pawlak Discusses Political, Economic Issues

*AU1803172794 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 16 Mar 94 pp 1, 19*

[Interview with Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak by Jan Zizka in Warsaw; date not given: "We Want Not Assistance and Asymmetry but Partnership Cooperation"]

[Text] Political and economic development in Poland as well as regional cooperation in Central Europe and attitudes toward the West European integrative groupings were the topics discussed in an exclusive interview granted to our newspaper in Warsaw by Polish Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak.

[Zizka] On the one hand, the Polish economy is showing signs of considerable recovery, while, on the other, many people are dissatisfied with their standard of living, and Solidarity is organizing strikes. In your opinion, could such actions destabilize the situation in Poland?

[Pawlak] It is important for the future to ensure that stability and development do not apply only to the economic sphere, which is just one element of the whole social system. The positive results of the reforms should be manifested in an overwhelming part of societal life. In its practical activity, our government would like to abide by the principle of intensifying the entire context of the reforms. We want to strive to overcome dissatisfaction, but, first and foremost, we want to take part in creating the conditions for the active involvement of a larger part of society in the transformation process. It is also apparent after a few years of implementing the reforms that they have to be carried out by evolutionary means—without shocks and without leaps and bounds. Considerable losses are incurred by hasty changes in both the economic and the social spheres. The third principle we would like to abide by is the rationalization of our activity and the better utilization of our potential. As far as the protests are concerned, they were organized in those economic branches in which real wages rose last year, although average real wages in Poland as a whole declined a little. The motive here is not so much economic as political. The locations of the protests are not congruent with the locations of problems and poverty. Those whom Solidarity is mobilizing in protests—miners and railroad workers—have, in short, above-average incomes. I think that, during the course of discussions and negotiations, we will succeed in improving the current atmosphere. However, the trade unionists must also understand that the government has to negotiate with all of the trade union organizations and is doing so. Solidarity withdrew from these talks. I think, however, that we will return to the negotiating table.

[Zizka] Problems are also cropping up in relations within the ruling coalition—between the Union of the Democratic Left (SLD) and the Polish People's Party (PSL). An example of this is the affair surrounding former Finance Minister Borowsky, who left the government. In your opinion, how will these relations unfold?

[Pawlak] I do not think these are coalition problems. This was the decision of Mr. Borowsky, who submitted his resignation. In every step like this, it is necessary to reckon with the possible consequences. There are no problems in the coalition, however. The best example is the approval of the state budget, for which the vast majority of deputies expressed their support. That is, I think it is an exaggeration to interpret the facts in this way.

[Zizka] This means that there is no threat to the coalition?

[Pawlak] The example of the budget proves that there are no disputes within the coalition in specific issues.

[Zizka] And what about ratifying the treaty with the Vatican—the concordat?

[Pawlak] We have not reached a coalition agreement on the concordat. This is not an issue that should provoke a coalition crisis. Within our PSL Club and in harmony with the freedom of belief and religious affiliation, we do not insist on a common point of view binding for all.

[Zizka] Another issue that causes disputes, mainly between the SLD and President Walesa, is the drafting of

a new Constitution. Marshall of the Sejm Oleksy said that it will be necessary to seek a certain compromise. What is your opinion?

[Pawlak] If you want to familiarize yourself with the crux of the disputes, it would be better to turn to President Walesa, Marshall Oleksy, and SLD Chairman Kwasniewski. The government is not interested in examining the points at issue in this matter; we are interested in cooperation in resolving specific issues.

[Zizka] How would the PSL react to the candidacy of Mr. Kwasniewski for the post of president?

[Pawlak] If Mr. Kwasniewski becomes a candidate for the presidency, we will hold talks and discuss it.

[Zizka] The government coalition was criticized for its personnel policy in individual regions, where it tried to make numerous changes in posts in a number of provinces.

[Pawlak] When Bill Clinton became President of the United States, there was a thorough and rapid change of personnel throughout the administration. No one took exception to this. In Poland, there was definitely a quite considerable reevaluation throughout the political system. I am convinced, however, that this process has been completed and that no more significant changes should be made in the personnel sphere.

[Zizka] A protectionist policy, first and foremost in the agricultural sphere, was expected from the PSL before the elections. From this point of view, what is the situation now?

[Pawlak] It is impossible, of course, to claim that the PSL's activity is associated exclusively with protectionism. On the other hand, however, it is necessary to realize that this is normal in the activities of much richer and more developed countries, that they are seeking an international position for their own economy, and that they are looking after their own interests. Poland is also bound to look after its overall interests in economic cooperation with other countries. This also proceeds from the fact that the balance of trade worsened considerably last year and that Poland had a trade deficit of more than $2 billion. Most of this was due to trade with Western countries. For this reason, at a meeting in Prague at the beginning of this year, our side proposed a Partnership for Development. The maxim is not to talk about assistance and asymmetry but, rather, about partnership cooperation that is advantageous for everyone. This involves a partnership where it is irrelevant how great the differences are in economic potential. I think that this idea could be appropriate, first and foremost, for developing cooperation in our region. We should try to develop the institutions that simplify economic cooperation and the financial and transportation infrastructures. However, the opportunities for immediate contacts are also important, beginning with a meeting at the highest level, followed by meetings between businessmen and ending up with contacts among a large number of people—for instance, within the framework of tourism. We are interested in laying the real foundations of cooperation, not, however, by means of a bureaucracy. We favor the "G-4" formula and not one associated with the establishment of numerous institutions whose activity does not always bear practical fruit. We agreed on this at the meeting in Prague. The countries of Central Europe and the Baltic region should be open to each other, which is also important for creating joint enterprises and infrastructures.

[Zizka] Talks are also under way on agricultural products within the framework of the negotiations on the Central European Free Trade Zone (CEFTA). What will Poland's position be?

[Pawlak] Agricultural products are a major problem. This is the point of view of not only Poland but also all of the countries. Agriculture was the most complicated issue in the GATT talks. Agricultural products are also regarded as sensitive in our contacts with the European Union [EU]. This ensues from the specific nature of these products. Negotiations within this category will also not be simple. I think, however, that our countries are linked to such an extent by their common geographical location and by the problems associated with the changes and transformations that we are obliged to try to improve our common potential. We have to seek a solution on the markets of third countries in areas where we want to defend our potential, our jobs. I think this is possible. Our potential should be utilized not only in mutual cooperation within the region, but also in relation to third countries.

[Zizka] In connection with what you said about the state of Poland's exports, officials from the Polish National Bank maintain that foreign currency reserves are increasing alongside their decline. According to them, this means that exports are higher than it seems from the statistics; however, a considerable proportion of them are unregistered and take place without the knowledge of the banks.

[Pawlak] I do not think we should be proud of this.

[Zizka] A number of Czech politicians do not want to talk about "cooperation within the Visegrad Group." They would prefer the expression "CEFTA states." What do you think about this?

[Pawlak] I agree with this view. It is all very well to come up with great ideas, but there comes a difficult point at which it is necessary to put them into practice. The Visegrad Group was based, first and foremost, on the idea of political cooperation. CEFTA is an expression of very specific economic cooperation—the liberalization of mutual trade. This course of action is very practical, especially today, when it is necessary to turn political ideas into specific acts. This involves ensuring that our economies become a dynamic element of the pan-European system.

[Zizka] In Prague, at the beginning of this year, you discussed mainly economic issues, while President Walesa dealt more with political and security issues. What is Poland's priority here? For example, entry into the European Union or admission into NATO?

[Pawlak] First of all, it is essential that there is interest on both sides, which is not always the case. I think that our experiences with NATO illustrate this well. It is the same with the European Union. Discussions on whether we should apply for membership now are, in my opinion, premature. To responsibly proclaim such an intention, certain parameters have to be complied with economically. It seems to me that we should not bargain in the sphere of political ideas but cooperate in such a way that our countries do not lag behind in mutual relations—for instance, compared with bilateral contacts with the European Union. On the contrary, there is nothing preventing more dynamic cooperation in our region. Incidentally, this would facilitate our entry into the European Union. At the moment, this is a rather distant prospect, and the whole process requires a certain amount of time. It is illogical to make an idealistic announcement about an idea that cannot be put into action for a long time.

[Zizka] Foreign Minister Olechowski, however, said in Brussels that Poland will apply to join the European Union in the near future. It is known that the head of the diplomatic corps was nominated to the government by the president. To what extent, therefore, is he the representative of the president, and to what extent is he the representative of the government?

[Pawlak] I discussed this with Mr. Olechowski, who said that he had spoken in Brussels about the prospects for such a request. He definitely did not speak about it as a fait accompli. This is a subject for discussion in Poland. We will give it consideration in the government and parliament. The process of incorporation into the EU's structures depends not on proclaimed declarations but on the overall state of the economy. It is necessary to stick to reality.

[Zizka] Is a situation in which not only representatives of the coalition but also of the president sit in the government compatible with effective work by the government?

[Pawlak] In Poland we have so many problems and so much work that there are a great many areas toward which we should be directing our energy. It is worse if someone deals with something else. So far, however, such problems have not cropped up in the government. Plurality is always better than a unilateral orientation. There are often more ideas in a pluralist system. Perhaps it is also more complicated to come to conclusions. In short, we have more ideas and objectives to think about and choose from. If we concentrate on our work, there is no time for other issues.

## Lessons Learned From Pawlak's Moscow Visit

*WS2103131194 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 19-20 Mar 94 p 23*

[Commentary by Kazimierz Dziewanowski under the "Always on Saturday" rubric: "A Few Useful Lessons"]

[Text] Prime Minister Pawlak's unexpected trip to Moscow caused quite a lot of confusion. So I would like to make a few remarks on the topic of that visit; these remarks will deal with some very important issues.

*Remark Number One:* Contrary to some other journalists, it is not my view that the customs duties declared by the Russians (immediately after the visit) on many goods exported by Poland were intended to be a deliberate affront to the prime minister. These customs duties had been announced before, so the concurrence of the two events is merely a coincidence. But, as people surrounding the prime minister argued, if an improvement of the situation of Polish trade with the East was the main purpose of the visit, one must say that the situation is worse than it was before; ergo, the visit's main goal was not achieved.

*Remark Number Two:* That disadvantageous effect was caused by a few serious things. First is the false view, which is shared by a few of the prime minister's advisers, several members of the government, and some Sejm deputies, that Poland's problems in its trade with the East are due to mistakes in policies committed by previous governments. That view is proof of ignorance of the real situation by those who espouse it and of their certain political pigheadedness, which it never pays to go by. It is enough to familiarize oneself with the problems faced by Finland, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Germany, France, and many other countries in their trade with Russia to be able to assess how true that argument really is. Our trade with Russia suffers from problems primarily due to Russia's economic collapse and the inability of the Russian financial system to service commercial activities. So one must look for ways to improve trade settlements between our two countries, but the visit did not result in any progress in this field.

*Remark Number Three:* The trip was poorly prepared. It is a trivial thing to say that the prime minister of a country should not go on a trip to a country as important as Russia, whose relations with us have recently become quite difficult, if the signing of some minor protocols is to be the visit's only result. The point is that, if a trip is not well prepared or thought through, then, as a net result, it creates the impression of deterioration (which may not be justified) instead of bringing about an improvement.

*Remark Number Four:* Every country in the world tries to avoid conveying the impression that its authorities are conducting several foreign policies that are independent and uncoordinated with one another. But that is exactly the kind of impression one is bound to have when the

president learns from a television report about an important foreign trip by the prime minister. The point is neither in stressing pragmatic rules of bureaucracy and official behavior nor rules of courtesy that, after all, are indispensable and worth observing. The real point is that, when you have an official guest visiting a grand capital and the hosts can see that the guest failed to come to an agreement over the visit with other forces in his country, his position is weak and his credibility shaky. If elements of domestic infighting among different political parties become visible on the international level, it is the country itself that is harmed the most, but participants in these games are not strengthening their positions, either. On the contrary, they lose prestige, both domestically and internationally. Such are the iron and permanent principles in the arena of international politics, which are observed by all experienced players. One must say with sorrow here that the rules have been violated by Poland a few times in the past. The results of that are always disastrous.

*One Final Remark:* Russian customs duties show that customs duties are a double-edged sword. Those in Poland who persistently speak in favor of protective customs duties ought to keep in mind that we are not living in a vacuum. It is no accident that the most reasonable politicians and economists around the world are in favor of the gradual elimination of customs barriers, or that the GATT agreement was signed, or that wars over customs duties and trade issues are regarded as considerably harmful. Poland, in turn, is a country that should be very eager to develop its exports.

So we received several useful lessons this past week. Now the point is for us to get them into our heads, and fast.

## Solidarity Views Results of Meeting With Pawlak

*LD1803134794 Warsaw FAP in Polish 1254 GMT 18 Mar 94*

[Text] Warsaw, 18 Mar—Solidarity leader Marian Krzaklewski said at a press conference after Friday's meeting with Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak that a team of Solidarity and government specialists will begin work on 22 March. Confirmation of this decision by the prime minister is a precondition for Solidarity suspending the strike.

By the end of next week, the team will prepare "legal methods and a decisionmaking process" to facilitate the implementation of Solidarity's demands. These proposals will then be discussed at the next government meeting, which will make political decisions, Krzaklewski explained. He added that this team should identifiey those decisions that can be implemented later and controlled by a tripartite commission.

Solidarity expects that the prime minister will confirm these decisions during a press conference on Friday. The decision to continue the strike also depends on a meeting with regional Solidarity leaders and chairmen of branch secretariats. Krzaklewski said that this decision will most probably be made tonight, when, after the prime minister's press conference, the staff of the National Strike Action Headquarters is to meet.

## Pawlak, Union To Debate Demands

*WS2103114894 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 19-20 Mar 94 p 2*

[Article by Bernadeta Waszkielewicz and Pawel Reszka: "After Talks With Pawlak; Solidarity Is Not Sure Whether To Believe"

[Text] *The government and Solidarity will establish a team of experts to deal with the trade union's demands. The team is to complete its work by the end of next week, and then the Council of Ministers is to debate the results of the team's work at its next session, [Solidarity Chairman] Marian Krzaklewski told journalists after his meeting with Prime Minister Pawlak. Chiefs of the trade union's regions and branches are keeping their distance vis-a-vis the results of the talks with the prime minister. They have no intention of ending their protests until such time as the agreements concluded are actually implemented. But they did announce that there will be no "massive strike actions" for the time being.*

The prime minister also met with chiefs of the All-Polish Trade Unions Agreement [OPZZ], Solidarity '80, and the Polish Miners Trade Unions yesterday.

### Prime Minister Opposed to Grumbling

While responding to questions from journalists, the prime minister reported that talks among the experts will not be in the form of bilateral negotiations but will be held as "procedural talks." He also said that the principle of "regarding issues concerning all employees, the government negotiates in a multiparty arrangement—that is, one representing all groups and unions" is in effect. When it comes to bilateral talks, they are only possible when "there are disputes concerning issues that are significant from the standpoints of different parties," and the only goal of such talks is to find a formula of how to solve such disputes within the Trilateral Commission (government-employers-trade unions) or within joint negotiating teams (trade unions, employers, government, and territorial self-governments).

Pawlak said that experts for the government and Solidarity are to work out a "mechanism for a referral of those issues to the Trilateral Commission and to the teams, with the goal of discussions involving many parties."

"No problems have been solved as yet simply by grumbling or shouting how difficult life is in Poland," Pawlak said.

It was provided in a joint communique signed by the trade union's spokesman and the director of the Government's Press Office that the results of talks with the chairmen of Solidarity and other trade unions—and also

the results of the experts' work—will be presented to the Council of Ministers for debate.

**Solidarity Keeping Its Distance**

Krzaklewski and the prime minister did not talk to journalists together. The chairman of Solidarity left the Office of the Council of Ministers by a back door and came across OPZZ Chairwoman Ewa Spychalska on the way. Rumor has it that he kissed her on the hand and wished her success in her talks with the prime minister.

Krzaklewski organized a conference for journalists on " 'Solidarity's territory." He reported there that he had agreed with Pawlak that a team of governmental and Solidarity experts will be set up this coming Tuesday [22 March]. The team is supposed to come up with suggestions for legal changes that would be required to implement the demands of Solidarity by the end of the week. Subsequently, the Council of Ministers would approve the team's conclusions at its next session.

"Until that time, the trade union will maintain its state of readiness," the chairman of Solidarity said. According to Krzaklewski, the Trilateral Commission is supposed to see to it that the agreement is observed in practice.

But the reception of the decisions by chiefs of regions and branches of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity, who were awaiting the results of the talks with the prime minister, was cool.

"Pawlak is reported to have said that the demands of Solidarity are justified. We were surprised by that statement, especially because leaders for the Democratic Left Alliance have been saying something quite the opposite," a member of the National Commission [of Solidarity] told RZECZPOSPOLITA.

Piotr Zak, the National Commission's press spokesman, told us that, until such time as the experts's decisions are implemented, Solidarity will continue its protests, in accordance with a time schedule that was agreed upon earlier. But, for the time being, there will be no "massive strike actions," as had been announced earlier.

Zak refused to comment on a statement by the prime minister that the talks with Solidarity are of a procedural nature.

—The prime minister agreed with Spychalska that he will set up either a plenipotentiary or a coordinator for the government for the purpose of "making interministry issues more specific." According to the OPZZ chairwoman, lack of agreement among ministries is an impediment to negotiating social guarantees.

—The prime minister agreed with [chief of Solidarity '80] Marian Jurczyk that experts for the trade union and the government will hold a session. [Chief of the Miners Trade Unions] Kisielinski was critical of the strikes by Solidarity. The government is to make efforts to include Solidarity '80 and the Miners Trade Union. [sentence as published] Solidarity '80 is to represent Poland at the International Labor Organization this year.

**Strikes by Solidarity**

Yesterday, plants in the Ziemia Sandomierska Region were on strike, among them the Stalowa Wola steelworks and a sulfur mine in Tarnobrzeg. Also, five plants in the Jelenia Gora Region were on strike and some in the Elblag Region. Employees of the Radoskor plant in Radom are still on strike.

## New Political Coalition Founded in Slupsk

*LD1903213194 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 2100 GMT 19 Mar 94*

[Text] Representatives of six political groups in Slupsk—Solidarity, the Christian-National Union, the Polish Democracy Party, the Movement for the Republic, Center Accord, and the Polish Peasant Party-Peasant Accord—have created an electoral bloc under the name "Christian-Independence Forum." The alliance is opting for the development of local self-governments and is expressing itself in favor of the decentralization of the state.

## High Rate of Military Service Waivers Viewed

*WS2103114694 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 19-20 Mar 94 p 2*

[Article by Z.L.: "Our Defender Is Under Treatment"]

[Text] *On the eve of the Army's springtime conscription, the military is raising the alarm: If this time around the same kinds of poorly prepared recruits find their way into the barracks, as was the case this past fall, training programs in many military units will be disorganized from the very beginning.*

According to data from the General Staff, every year only half of all young men who are legally obliged to perform their "citizen's duty to the motherland" actually serve in the Army. Because the number of recruits using various kinds of deferments is so huge, when it comes to the remaining candidates, the choice is severely limited. "The Army gets those who were not successful in fleeing"—that is the malicious way in which those who know a lot about yearly conscriptions describe the phenomenon. Even if such views are exaggerated, statistics regarding service waivers for potential conscripts are a very serious problem for commanders of military units. In some subdivisions, during the first weeks and months of service—that is, within the so-called short way—as many as 15 to 20 percent of soldiers drop out for, among other reasons, ailments that have just been diagnosed. It is practically impossible to make up for losses in incomplete crews of combat vehicles, while legal provisions do not provide for the possibility of conducting a follow-up conscription.

The civil rights spokesman has already several times described the situation of an insufficient number of soldiers having to perform tasks designated for full subdivisions—which, by definition, means that the soldiers have a much greater burden to bear—as violating the principles of equality, which also means a violation of civil rights.

According to officers responsible for the recruitment and adaptation of young soldiers, many conscripts conceal their ailments on purpose—at the point of recruitment, as well as for the first few days—to be able to avail themselves of the right to full medical treatment at the state's expense after a medical board issues a judgment saying the ailment could have been acquired during service. "A citizen aware of his rights simply uses them"—this is the way officers comment on that phenomenon and also on conscripts leaving service after the first several days not only with a medical waiver, which practically puts their future use to the Army into question, but also being financially supported. That is because every soldier, regardless of whether he has served a day or a year in the Army, is currently entitled to an allowance of approximately 4 million zlotys, on average.

According to medical services, there is nothing strange in all kinds of human deficiencies and ailments coming to surface in the initial period of military service. Often, it is the first time in years that young men are subjected to such intense physical training, which helps surface all problems associated with the spine, flat feet, or concealed deficiencies of the circulation system. High stress levels and a sudden change in life-styles are also often the basis for a so-called disadaptation syndrome, which manifests itself in an inability to adapt oneself to the extreme conditions under which military service takes place. But we are not an exception in that regard: Psychologists for almost all armies have been observing the same syndrome.

### More Serb Weapons Discovered in Exclusion Zone

*AU2103150294 Paris AFP in English 1438 GMT 21 Mar 94*

[Text] Sarajevo, March 21 (AFP)—Canadian UN forces have discovered heavy arms including tanks, anti-aircraft guns and mortars in a serious breach of the NATO-imposed exclusion zone around Sarajevo, a UN spokesman said Monday [21 March]. Calling it a "big violation", Major Simon MacDowell, spokesman for the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR), said the Canadians had found the arms late Sunday [20 March] in the area where six 120 mm howitzers had been found on March 4. He said: "They determined that there are a considerable number of weapons there more than the six." These included four tanks, three anti-aircraft guns, one 405 mm howitzer and 18 mortars.

Although the weapons were on the outer edge of the exclusion zone, near Cisluk 19 kilometres (11 miles) northwest of Sarajevo, they were very near the Sarajevo-Visoko road, which is supposed to be opened to civilian travel on Wednesday [23 March]. "At the local level, Canadians and the Serb commanders are in contact," MacDowell said. "The local level has not achieved any results in getting the weapons moved out or put under UNPROFOR control."

The spokesman said the UN tried to arrange a high-level meeting between Bosnian Serb leader radivan Karadzic and top UNPROFOR officials at Serb headquarters in Pale later Monday to resolve the situation. "The Serbs cannot withdraw straight back out since they've backed up right to HVO (Croat) [Croatian Defense Council] lines," MacDowell said. "We don't know where the weapons came from. It's a big violation," he added, making clear however that "these guns are not capable of engaging Sarajevo. We have them now under observation." The spokesman added: "But these weapons are where we say they shouldn't be. The situation is not satisfactory from our position. Absolutely not."

### Serbs 'Fleeing' Joint Muslim-Croat Attack

*AU2103115194 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 21 Mar 94*

[Text] Today the [Serbian] aggressor has been forced to flee even further in the theater of operations of the 7th South Operative Group following joint attacks by fighters of the Bosnia-Herzegovina [B-H] Army and the Croatian Defense Council [HVO]. Smajl Terzic reports:

[Begin Terzic recording] They [the Serbs] are fleeing from Novi Seher via Dubrave toward Teslic, and they are also withdrawing part of their forces via (Globarica) toward Mt. Ozren. This is the first time that this has happened since the outbreak of the war as their warlords well appreciate the power of the united forces of the 3d Corps, units of the 7th South Operative Group, and the two HVO brigades, the 110th Glorious Usora Brigade and the 111th Zepce Brigade. These territories, which were occupied for nine months, were indeed occupied only temporarily.

This great victory by the forces of the B-H Army and the HVO is the result of highly coordinated activities. It is in fact the result of Article 6 of the Washington Agreement concerning joint military activities of the B-H Army and the HVO on the ground. Therefore, this is the beginning of the end of the aggression, and it is taking place in the 7th South Operative Group's theater of operations.

By the way, the enemy has not been silent today. This morning he fired mortars at the villages of Jelak and Sije, in the theater of operations of the 207th Glorious Pousora Fierce Brigade, and [word indistinct]. [end recording]

### Serbs Destroy Vehicle Carrying UN Troops

*AU1803160194*

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1425 GMT on 18 March carries in its regular 22-minute newscast several reports on the fighting in the republic.

The Gradacac Information Center says that "after a very quiet morning, practically without a single bullet being fired, the [Serbian] enemy suddenly opened fire at a vehicle carrying the Nordic battalion of the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR]. At 1020 the enemy fired several 120-mm mortars from Skugric at the peacekeeping forces on regular patrol of the region of Vida. The vehicle went up in flames but the soldiers managed to escape in time, so that—at least according to the latest information—there are no wounded." The report says that "at the moment NATO planes are constantly flying over Gradacac."

Mirza Sadikovic reports from Bihac that "the Serb aggressor has continued his attacks on the defense lines on the Grmusko-Srbljanski Plateau, Hasin Vrh, and Barakovac, and the members of the paramilitary formations of the so-called Kladusa autonomy have also stepped up their attacks on the free part of the Bihac region. After continuous artillery and tank attacks overnight, this morning Karadzic's terrorists again tried another infantry breakthrough on Hasin Vrh. In collusion with the chetniks, the so-called autonomy army continued to attack in the area of Krivaja in the Cazin commune. Several of our fighters were wounded in these attacks, and three were unfortunately killed. More of our fighters were killed in the bestial chetnik pounding of the defense positions." He said that "according to incomplete information, nine people were killed and several dozen wounded overnight and today."

Reporting from Bugojno, Atif Agic says that "this is the third day that the general alarm is constantly in force to warn civilians of the chetnik shells. Five people have been wounded so far as the town has been subjected to sudden shellings."

### Nordic Battalion Soldiers Safe

*AU1803171694 Paris AFP in English 1706 GMT 18 Mar 94*

[Text] Tuzla, Bosnia-Herzegovina, March (AFP)—An armoured vehicle of the United Nations Nordic battalion was destroyed Friday by shell and heavy machine gun fire near Gradacac in northern Bosnia, UNPROFOR spokeman Anders Person announced. Person told AFP that the nine soldiers in the vehicle were safe, adding: "We don't know who shot at the vehicle." Twenty heavy tanks were sent to the scene and NATO planes flew overhead as a "power demonstration," Person said.

### Three Wounded in Shelling Attack on Sarajevo

*LD1903182694 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 19 Mar 94*

[Text] This afternoon a shell hit [word indistinct] Alipasino Polje in [western-central] Sarajevo, wounding three persons, Bosnia-Herzegovina press [news agency] has learned in the security service center of the Novi Grad municipality. Details about the location from which the shell was fired are not yet known.

### UN To Send Investigators

*AU1903185694 Paris AFP in English 1836 GMT 19 Mar 94*

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, March 19 (AFP)—Three people were wounded in a mortar attack on Sarajevo Saturday, in the first major breach of the heavy-weapon exclusion zone, the press service of the Moslem-dominated Bosnian government said. [passage omitted]

While there have been reports of previous violations of the cease-fire and the heavy weapons exclusion zone, this would appear to be the first time civilians had been wounded in a shell attack on Sarajevo since early February. The United Nations Protection Force could not confirm Saturday that a shell had been fired but said military observers had been sent to the site to investigate. Major Jose Labandeira, a UN spokesman, said that whatever the cause, it was an "isolated incident". It was very difficult to control all the 40 to 60 millimeter mortars which can be carried around by an individual, he said.

### UN Blames Blast on Grenade

*AU1903193794 Paris AFP in English 1919 GMT 19 Mar 94*

[Excerpt] Sarajevo, March 19 (AFP)—Three people were wounded in a mortar attack on Sarajevo Saturday, the press service of the Moslem-dominated Bosnian government said, but the UN said the blast was caused by a grenade.

If the mortar attack were confirmed, it would be the first serious breach of a NATO-imposed heavy weapons exclusion zone around the capital. But the United Nations Protection Force quickly denied that a mortar shell had been fired, blaming the blast on a grenade. [passage omitted]

### TANJUG on UN Response

*LD1903214494 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2132 GMT 19 Mar 94*

[Text] Belgrade, March 19 (TANJUG)—A U.N. officer has resolutely denied allegations by Moslem authorities in Sarajevo that the explosion that left three persons wounded in the Alipasino Polje suburb on Saturday was caused by a Serb mortar shell.

Lieutenant-Colonel [name indistinct] Pernod of the French battalion within the U.N. Protection Force in war-torn Bosnia-Herzegovina said that the explosion was the result of a rifle-launched grenade, the AFP reports.

The maximum range of such a grenade is 600 metres and the nearest Serb positions are 1,500 metres away from the place where the explosion occurred, Pernod specified.

### Major Offers $18 Million To Rebuild Sarajevo

*AU1803195794 Paris AFP in English 1947 GMT 18 Mar 94*

[Text] Sarajevo, March 18 (AFP)—Britain will provide 12 million pounds (18 million dollars) to the costs of rebuilding Sarajevo, British Prime Minister John Major said Friday as he visited the war-scarred Bosnian capital. A total of five million pounds will be provided now and seven million pounds later, Major said.

The Bosnian Government has estimated the cost of reconstructing Sarajevo at 3.1 billion dollars.

Major, in Sarajevo Friday for talks with Bosnian Vice-President Ejup Ganic and the British commander of UN troops in Bosnia, Lieutenant-General Sir Michael Rose, briefly toured a water pumping station in the city and visited a position held by a Scottish contingent of UN troops. On his arrival in Sarajevo from the central Bosnian town of Vitez, the headquarters of the British contingent in the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR), Major vaunted the "chance for peace" in the region and said more UN troops would be needed soon to monitor the emerging ceasefires. He later left the city by helicopter to return to the southern Croatian port of Split, before returning to London.

### Karadzic Conditions Talks on Lifting Sanctions

*AU2003204394 Pristina TVP Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 20 Mar 94*

[Interview with Radovan Karadzic, president of the Srpska republic, by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Mr. President, the Croat and Muslim sides in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina have reached an agreement on federation. The Serbian side was generously offered the opportunity to join the agreement and express its stand on this federation agreement between Croats and Muslims. What is understood so far is that the Serbian side is not going to join the agreements bilaterally.

[Karadzic] First of all, the agreement was made without us and without any participation by us, so I do not see how somebody can expect us to join and accept something that others have adjusted to their own needs. As regards their own right to live as they want to, we have no comment. This is derived from their sovereign right to determine the way in which they are going to live, as well as their mutual relations. We are retaining this same right for ourselves. However, within the European Conference on Bosnia-Herzegovina we accepted certain obligations toward the European Community and have fulfilled these obligations. The European Community, as a representative of the international community, has accepted some obligations toward us and should fulfill these obligations. We are not going to enter any new conference until these obligations are fulfilled, and they mostly regard the lifting or suspension of sanctions against the Serbian people. Any further talks imply a relation on an equal footing between the negotiating sides and in this respect the Serbian side cannot negotiate if it is not freed from sanctions, that is to say, if it is not treated in an equal fashion.

In any case, we are not going to refuse to negotiate all possible alternatives. What we see as priorities are, first, that the war should stop. Second, a just delimitation [delimitacija] should be carried out and borders established. Third, only then should we decide what relations should be established between these new entities. Here I do not think only about the Serbian Republic, but also about the Republic of Serbian Krajina and Croatia and the Croatian-Muslim Federation and Yugoslavia. In any case, relations between the new entities will present much less problem than the delimitation, and delimitation is much less of a problem than putting a stop to war. Therefore, one should first stop the war. The Serbs are ready to stop the war without setting any conditions, so we should not fight anywhere. However, as regards all other things, that would nevertheless rather like starting a new conference and to enter a new conference, we demand that the international community fulfill its obligations towards us.

### Reacts to Muslim-Croat Accord

*LD1803205694 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1948 GMT 18 Mar 94*

[Text] Sarajevo, 18 Mar (TANJUG)—"The Croats and the Muslims today exercised their sovereign right to decide on how they wish to live and, as long as this is not aimed against the Serbs, we are ready to accept this agreement as their choice," president of the Srpska republic Radovan Karadzic said while commenting on the signing of the Croat-Muslim agreement. "We are closely examining every individual implication of that agreement, hoping that it will lead to peace," he added.

Commenting on U.S. President Clinton's statement on the need to include the Serb side, with the aim of achieving total peace, the Srpska republic president said that the Serbs are ready to join every peace process. "We are already involved in the peace process under the patronage of the European Union, and we are ready to sign a peace agreement at any time, but we expect guarantees that all three sides would be treated equally, which includes the issue of the lifting of the sanctions," Karadzic said.

Asked by correspondents how he interpreted Izetbegovic's statement in Washington today, when Izetbegovic emphasized the problem of preserving the old borders of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Karadzic said that today's events have created a completely new international legal and political situation.

"In this respect you cannot have your cake and eat it too. This is a new state created on the basis of their sovereign rights. We can either be sorry or happy for being excluded from this state of theirs, but the borders of Bosnia-Herzegovina as desired by Mr. Izetbegovic simply no longer exist. In fact, they have never really existed because we never accepted the idea of a Bosnia outside Yugoslavia," President Karadzic said.

### Ganic on European, U.S. Stand on Bosnia

*NC1803154794 Beirut AL-SAFIR in Arabic 11 Mar 94 p 11*

[Report on interview with Bosnian Vice President Ejup Ganic by 'Ali Maghniyah in Sarajevo; date not given]

[Text] The Muslim Bosnians hope that the equation in Bosnia will change after the signing of the cease-fire agreement with the Bosnian Croats last month and starting negotiations on the establishment of a federal union with the Bosnian Croats followed by another federal union between the new federation and Croatia.

The Muslims are also hoping that NATO's threats last month will be effective. NATO recently threatened to bomb the Serbian heavy artillery positions if it is not withdrawn to a distance of 20 kilometers from the besieged Bosnian capital or placed under the supervision of the UN forces.

Despite what has been said about the agreement between the Muslims and the Croats being fragile, and that observers believe that this agreement does not mean the complete end of the fighting between the two sides, there is great optimism regarding an extended truce. This truce, if it is destined to continue, is enough to relieve the pressure on the Muslims in central Bosnia and give them a chance to concentrate on the territories occupied by the Serbs. It is also natural for the Bosnian Army to continue

preparing to build a strong military base to confront any future dangers. That army's preparations are expected to rely on supplies coming through the center of Bosnia and Croatia—as was the case before the war erupted between the Croatians and the Muslims—in light of the cease-fire and the political understanding between the two sides.

Bosnian Vice President Ejup Ganic said he hoped that NATO will maintain its credibility regarding the warning it issued to the Bosnian Serbs. He called for lifting the arms embargo on Bosnia so that it can defend itself. He believes that Britain is putting pressure on the United States to weaken the enthusiasm of U.S. President Bill Clinton for the Muslim Bosnians. Ganic strongly attacked the European Union's mediator in Bosnia, David Owen. He said: "We do not want to deal with this arrogant Briton, who becomes more and more arrogant every time he appears on the international television networks."

In an interview with AL-SAFIR conducted at the presidential palace in Sarajevo, Ganic said: "We hope that NATO will keep its credibility. If NATO strikes the Serbs, we will be very grateful. If it does not, we will remain steadfast and fight until our territory is liberated. All we ask of the West is to let us defend ourselves and lift the embargo. Sarajevo is not the whole of Bosnia. Over 70 percent of our territory needs to be liberated. Getting back this territory is our duty to our people."

He added: "Everything the crazy Serbs are doing is being permitted and accepted because they have not encountered anyone to deter them. The international organization [UN] is playing the role of the doctor who is trying to cure the wound superficially because he does not want to remove the microbe that causes it. We in Bosnia are telling them to let us do that for ourselves. We do not want your help, but do not get in our way and hamper us."

[Maghniyah] Do you believe that the West really wants to defend the Muslims in Bosnia?

[Ganic] I believe that the West is concerned about maintaining its credibility and appearing in history as an honorable party. World public opinion is on our side and supports our cause. However, nowadays we are living in a fascist age. Ethnic cleansing is now condoned in the eyes of the Europeans. If the Serbs insist on altering Bosnia's borders, we will have a real state of chaos in the whole of Europe.

Russia today supports the Serbs. There is a prevalent opinion in Europe hoping that the Serbs continue to kill the Muslim Bosnians so that Europe will have ample justification to deal with them once and for all with the approval of the Russians. However, all this will happen at the expense of our people.

I personally believe that Britain is putting pressure on the United States to undermine the Clinton Administration's enthusiasm for backing the Muslims. France was not on our side but it was not able to oppose striking the Serbs. But Germany had an honorable and very clear stand in our favor. This is why I am somewhat optimistic regarding the fate of the Muslims in Bosnia.

[Maghniyah] It is said that you head the extremist Muslim current.

[Ganic] I am a nationalist, not an extremist. I am an educated man who studied in the United States. But today, I lead my people because they are being killed. I asked the Muslims to train to fight because the Briton Lord Owen would not negotiate with us if we had no weapons. When the battles between the Muslims and Croats started, I asked Lord Owen why he was negotiating with the latter. He said because they had weapons. We are defending ourselves and they are accusing us of extremism.

[Maghniyah] Do you want to establish an Islamic republic in Bosnia? And are you really Muslims?

[Ganic, after a long silence] This is a cheap question. We are Europeans and we believe in our religion and respect all other religions. However, Europe's disregard for us has created some extremist currents.

The Europeans discovered about two years ago that we are Muslims. This is why they are not helping us. To confirm this, some Muslims in some Islamic countries told us that Europe will annihilate us even if we change our names and identities. These days, we find some individuals in Bosnia actually becoming religious because they are afraid of the results of war. But talk about an Islamic republic is not accurate. Only the Muslims agree among themselves in Bosnia now; and I believe that this will cause future economic problems with all those who are fighting the Muslims. As for extremism, I say: Yes, there are many hundreds of Muslim fighters who have come from various parts of the Islamic world to fight alongside us. But I told them to go back home. I said: You are only a few hundred, no more. Had you been 50,000, I would have led you into battle in the name of Islam.

[Maghniyah] Your stance on the Serbs is clear, but it is not clear on the Croats. Why is that?

[Ganic] No. My stance on the Croats is also clear. We fight anyone who follows the policies of Croatian President Franjo Tudjman. But there are some Croats fighting alongside the Muslims. I tell all the Croats right now: If Bosnia had not existed, Croatia would have had to create Bosnia to protect itself. Anyone who stands in our way will be dragged along with us. We have many options that we have not yet used. We are keeping them until the appropriate time.

[Maghniyah] What are these methods?

[Ganic] I do not want to talk about them. They are forcing us into a gangster war. I do not want to add anything more.

[Maghniyah] Who are they?

[Ganic] The extremist Serbs and Croats. If they push us in this direction, no one will be saved. The war will go on for many years. Whoever takes land by force will not be able to keep it.

However, we shall not abandon the principle of negotiations; and the way to peace is open to whoever wants to follow it. Lord Owen destroyed the theory of "land for peace," as has happened in Palestine. We do not want to have any dealings with this arrogant Briton. But the problem is that we did not appoint him, therefore we cannot dismiss him. He appears on the television screens every day, which only makes him more arrogant.

[Maghniyah] Do you still want an outlet on Nayum Sea [name as published]?

[Ganic] Nayum is Bosnian territory. We cannot accept being besieged. We want an airport and a port. When I am in an airplane and we fly over Bosnia, I see the flames of democracy burning here. Sarajevo is the capital of Bosnia and will always be the capital, just as Jerusalem is the capital of Palestine. War has caused many woes for everyone in the former Yugoslavia. We want these woes to end. We have no other choice, and we want an outlet on the sea. If they do not give us this outlet, we will drown everyone else along with us. I ask the Arab and Islamic countries to put pressure on the United States, France, and Britain. There are many ways to boycott Western goods and freeze Western projects. I thank the Muslims for standing at our side. I tell the Muslims to be careful. There is a great deal of discrimination in Europe if you are Muslim. I did not know this when I was young because I did not grow up like that. But, this is a sad reality.

## Silajdzic Views U.S. Involvement in Accord

*AU1703193194 Ljubljana OSLOBODJENJE (European Edition) in Serbo-Croatian 11-18 Mar 94 p 5*

[Interview with Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic by Ivica Puljic; place and date not given: "Also Open for 'Others'"]

[Text] Haris Silajdzic, prime minister of Bosnia-Herzegovina, said the following for OSLOBODJENJE:

[Silajdzic] The agreement on federation is the first step toward peace and it would not have happened without the participation of the United States. All those talks are already producing results on the ground. Croatian forces are no longer participating in battles around Maglaj and conflicts in central Bosnia and Mostar have stopped. That is the most important thing. On the ground, with the help of one team made up of Americans and other allies, forces must be disengaged and the structure of a new Bosnia-Herzegovina army must be created. That means we would have a defense alliance with Croatia regarding military matters. As far as other things are concerned, if God lets us—all of us living in these parts—come to our senses and establish some sort of peace, then such an alliance opens up tremendous possibilities, especially as everyone is more willing to invest in peace than in war.

[Puljic] Does this agreement foresee a presidential or a parliamentary system?

[Silajdzic] It will be a combination of parliamentary and presidential systems. Regardless of what it will be, I hope it will become effective and that it will lead us into either a presidential or a parliamentary system. It does not matter what it is, as long as it exists. We will try to consider the possibility of agreement with the Serbian side. Then we have much to do to prepare and draft the constitution of the federation and the confederate agreement with Croatia. After we have agreed on the text of the constitution and of the agreement on confederation, President Izetbegovic and President Tudjman are expected to sign a confederate agreement here in Washington.

[Puljic] The United States has evidently demonstrated the initiative and this could have a very beneficial effect on Bosnia- Herzegovina.

[Silajdzic] It is not a coincidence that all this happened in the United States and I think Washington is the right place for something like that. The seed we planted two years ago is slowly shooting. I have always believed Bosnia is a global issue and that it can only be solved as such. That is possible only if all world factors become involved, and the United States is the number-one world factor. You see that there are already some results. Our contacts with the United States are on the highest level. That is very important, for, in a way, it brings balance to those relations. Naturally, when we say world factors, we mean others as well. The Russian Federation is one of those factors and that is why we will intensify contacts directly through the United States in order to reach a final solution. I am supposed to go to Moscow and meet with Kosyrev and other leading Russian politicians. The Russians are an important factor in this process. In Moscow, we will discuss the possibility of making an agreement with the Serbian side.

Furthermore, I talked to Mr. Juppe, French foreign minister, and we understood France would continue to be positively involved in solving the problem of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Mr. Juppe said he would like to meet with me in Paris and I hope we will hold that meeting. In Bosnia-Herzegovina, on the ground, it is now most important that the United States and other allies help us. They will probably send a good team headed by one of the U.S. generals, regarding the disengagement of forces and the agreement, first on separation and then also on forming a military structure in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Puljic] Is a new world order being created, and to what extent is Bosnia-Herzegovina a part of global events?

[Silajdzic] Those who doubted the fact that Bosnia-Herzegovina is involved in creating a new world order now realize they were wrong. That was our thesis from

the very beginning. Bosnia- Herzegovina is a small country, but it plays an important role in international relations and this engagement of the United States and the allies, even Russia, proves that. You know, regardless of the world order we have, it must be founded on some kind of principles and on respecting the order. Genocide in the heart of Europe, aggression, the destruction of towns.... That is not a world order, that is a disorder that will sooner or later lead to war, not only in that region, but also in Europe and the world. The new order must be founded on the principle of rights and not on the principle of force. If it is not so, we will not have any kind of order or world order, but world disorder. That is the whole matter. In Bosnia, we had to prove there is order and that the order, if disrupted, is being established—by force. That is very important. And that is why this is an opportunity not only for the Bosniaks and the Croats, not only for Bosnia and Croatia, but also for the Serbian side to realize that people must live together in the world. That people must talk at a negotiating table and not solve problems using guns. This is an opportunity for everybody to be included in the peace process. This process includes the Bosniaks and the Croats and does not leave anybody out.

[Puljic] In case those "others" do not get involved, what will happen?

[Silajdzic] I hope there will be negotiations, not war.

[Puljic] In conclusion, let me ask you whether the United States intends to continue to firmly lead the initiative for solving the Bosnian problem?

[Silajdzic] They definitely intend to do that. Many factors decide on that and we are one of those factors. As I said, we have been working on involving the United States in this historic battle for the survival of Bosnia-Herzegovina for two years. According to statements by their leaders, the Americans will keep supporting Bosnia-Herzegovina. We hope they will keep us in the family of democratic countries and nations, that we will finally have a free country. There are many victims and, unfortunately, we cannot bring back the dead, but I hope those people did not die in vain.

## Herceg-Bosna Government on Washington Accord

*LD1903202994 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 19 Mar 94*

[Video report by correspondent Smiljko Sagolj, including recorded comments by Herceg-Bosna Defense Minister Vlado Soljic and Herceg-Bosna Prime Minister Jadranko Prlic]

[Excerpts] [Sagolj] [Video shows released people on Red Cross trucks] These scenes were recorded today on Makljan above Prozor where 294 Croats were released from prisons in Bugojno. The Croats have released Muslim prisoners from Rodoc. [passage omitted]

[Video shows correspondent and the government session] The Herceg-Bosna Government arrived in Vitez today and held its first session here. This is the first time that leaders of the Croat Republic of Herceg-Bosna have come to Croatian central Bosnia.

At the beginning of the session, Vice Prime Minister Ante Valeta, who lives in Vitez, gave a report on the work of all bodies in central Bosnia over the past few months. The conclusion was that the political and military leaders of the Croat nation of central Bosnia had organized an effective defense of their areas. Defense Minister Vlado Soljic stressed:

[Soljic] It is enough to say that we have realized the main goals if we have the Croatian state as a guarantee for the freedom and rights of all Croats, and if we have sovereign rights in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Sagolj] Prime Minister Jadranko Prlic stressed, among other things, that all the system's institutions must be further strengthened. In connection with that, the government today established its tasks.

[Prlic] The war has not stopped. The war is not over. In that respect, we must remain vigilant.

[Sagolj] Minister Mile Akmadzic informed the leaders of central Bosnia about the Vienna and Washington Agreements. It was particularly stressed at the session that now was the time to draw up reconstruction plans, but, of course, without neglecting the strengthening of the defense system. [passage omitted]

## Liberals Criticize Draft Constitution

*AU1703175494 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 17 Mar 94*

[Text] The removal of party representatives whose parties have fewer than six deputies from the activities of municipal war presidencies is an undemocratic act and constitutes the first tangible proof of the totalitarianization of the political space in Bosnia-Herzegovina, said Rasim Kadic, president of the Liberal Party of Bosnia-Herzegovina, at today's news conference. The decision was passed by the country's Presidency on the proposal of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government and, in my opinion, it is politically conflicting.

Rasim Kadic warned that this means that parliamentary parties that had a smaller number of voters will be thrown out of war presidencies, while representatives that had not even participated in the elections would remain in these executive bodies. This is a paradox. Moreover, a part of the text of the draft constitution for the federal organization of Bosnia-Herzegovina is also considered undemocratic. The part in question foresees a limit of 5 percent for entering the parliament. According to Kadic, this is the introduction of a single-party system. He also said that in the majority of European countries this limit was set at 2 percent, and

that the Liberal Party would demand at the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly that this provision is changed, because it limits the development of democracy in these areas.

### Attacks Continue Despite 'Chaos' in Serb Ranks

*AU2103095894*

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 0900 GMT on 21 March carries in its regular 6-minute newscast several reports on the fighting in the republic.

Reporting on the situation in Bihac, Mirza Sadikovic says that "Karadzic's terrorists and Fikret Abdic's paramilitaries have continued to attack the free Bihac territory overnight and this morning. The chetniks have been using all their artillery and tanks against the defense lines on the Grmusko-Srbljanski plateau, Hasin Vrh, (Vrsak), and the Bihac part of the front, and they have also occasionally directed their guns at the Bosanska Krupa front. They attempted several infantry breakthroughs, but these were repulsed by our defenders." He says that "in the meantime, the paramilitary formations of the so-called Kladusa autonomy attacked the outskirts of Cazin with considerable help from the chetniks of the Serbian autonomous region of Krajina. The members of the 5th Corps responded to the attacks and recaptured some villages that Abdic's paramilitaries had temporarily occupied."

Emir Aldakovic reports from Bugojno that "all night the town shook to the explosions of heavy shells fired from the chetnik positions in Kupres and Donji Vakuf. Unable to do anything serious on the front line after the major successes of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, when over 40 chetniks were killed in just a few days, the chetniks are returning to their tested formula of shelling residential areas from a safe distance. The shelling of Bugojno and the killing of civilians is aimed at encouraging the chetniks at least a little, as total chaos—according to reliable information—has overtaken their ranks. Aware of the failure of their destructive policy and that it is only a matter of time before the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army comes knocking on the door of Donji Vakuf, or Srbobran as they call it, the Serb extremists have been trying their best—of course with the help of unlimited supplies of liquor—to raise their low morale."

Enes Ratusic reports from Mostar from the Bosnia-Herzegovina 4th Corps Press Center that "the last 24 hours have been marked by sporadic violations of the cease-fire between the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the Croatian Defense Council." As for the southern part of the Mostar commune, the reports says that "the Serb aggressor fired antiaircraft machine guns and guns at Obradovici."

### Bihac Offensive Continues; Many Casualties

*LD2003100194 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 20 Mar 94*

[Text] The enemy offensive against the area of Bihac is continuing unabated. Last night and this morning the Serb aggressors opened fire on all defense lines in the Bihac part of the battlefield and on the Grmusa-Srbljani plateau. Several defenders were killed in the bestial shelling. Karadzic's terrorists intensified combat actions in the Bihac region zone of responsibility of the Croatian Defense Council, particularly in the [name indistinct] part of the battlefield, where they tried to infiltrate commando units. The units were routed in an energetic action by our fighters, but unfortunately several of them were killed in the fighting.

Actions by joint forces of the paramilitary formations of the Kladusa autonomy and chetniks from the so-called Krajina continued last night. Using 120-mm mortars, mountain artillery pieces and antiaircraft weapons they continued destroying the area of Cazin, and the villages of Skrivaja, Viskovac and Hatici. A large number of defenders and civilians, who are still fleeing this area from Fikret's demented blood-thirsty phalanges, were killed in this round of fighting.

Also last night, Karadzic's terrorists, using howitzers and mortars, shelled Bihac, Cazin, and their suburbs. Two people were seriously wounded; eight others suffered only minor injuries. Fresh material destruction is considerable.

### Serb Forces Withdraw From Around Maglaj

*LD2003152494 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 20 Mar 94*

[Excerpt] [Announcer] Hajrudin Redzovic reports from the Seven-South operational group.

[Redzovic] For the first time in the past two years of the aggression against our country, the Serb aggressor (?is withdrawing) from the operational area of the Seven-South operational group [of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army], which has recently come under fierce Serb attacks. [Words indistinct] the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army's Third Corps, the Croatian Defense Council's 111th Zepce Brigade and the command of the Seventh South operative group to hand over and liberate the temporarily occupied areas from the Bosna River to Mount Crni Vrh and further on, the enemy has withdrawn a large part of its forces from Novi Seher, Brankovici, Berkovici, Globarica and other villages.

The aggressors have withdrawn their forces—two brigades, 15 tanks, 50 artillery pieces and other military equipment—from villages that have been occupied for nine months. However, chetniks still hold some parts of the occupied territories. [passage omitted]

### Serbs Lift Blockade of Enclaves

*LD1903174194 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 19 Mar 94*

[Text] The blockade of the besieged town of Maglaj and the Croatian community of Usora [northeast Bosnia] was lifted at 1500 today.

According to Colonel Ivo Lozancic, the commander of the [Bosnian Croat] 111th Brigade, following an ultimatum issued by the 111th Brigade Command, the Srpska army today withdrew all their military equipment from their lines near Maglaj and the roads to Zepce and Usora. They have already reached the vicinity of Teslic. The Usora-94 operation was thus successfully completed. After several months of blockade the Croatian community of Usora is at last linked to the Croats of Zepce.

### Zenica Road Opened

*LD2003101094 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 20 Mar 94*

[Hajrudin Sermic report from Maglaj]

[Text] Events are developing fast in Maglaj. The most important news is that last night chetniks withdrew all their artillery pieces to the left bank of the Bosna River, to the positions on Mount Crni Vrh, near Teslic, where they were deployed before 24 June 1993, thus opening the Maglaj-Zepce-Zenica road, and a 15-kilometer front-line around Maglaj by which they kept this town under siege for more than nine months. UN troops are already being deployed along the former chetnik positions.

A pontoon bridge on the Bosna River near [name indistinct] was also dismantled last night. The Serb aggressor used the bridge for the transit of weapons and manpower between Mount Ozren and Teslic. The Croatian Defense Council has taken over the checkpoint on the Maglaj-Zepce road near [name indistinct] and UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces]-mediated negotiations on the joint control of the road by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the Croatian Defense Council are in progress. It should also be said that the Zepce Croatian Defense Council has secured the return of 200 inhabitants of this town to their homes, from where they were evicted to Maglaj four months ago. [passage omitted]

### Serbs Deny Withdrawal

*AU2003213694 Paris AFP in English 2111 GMT 20 Mar 94*

[Excerpts] Zagreb, March 20 (AFP)—Bosnian Serbs have agreed to a second aid convoy for the northern Bosnian Moslem town of Maglaj as the first one arrived Sunday, providing its first supplies since October, a UN official said. The new convoy should leave from Zagreb Monday, travelling through the Serb-held town of Banja Luka, said Peter Kessler, spokesman for the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). The second 10-truck run will provide a real test of Serb will to allow humanitarian aid for the 100,000 people living in the enclave, which has been under Serb siege since mid-1993. [passage omitted]

"It's wonderful, we all are very pleased, we finally succeeded," said Kris Janowksi, a UNHCR spokesman in Sarajevo. Janowski said several additional convoys are scheduled in coming days to assist the region's war-weary population, described in a recent UN report as walking skeletons. On Sunday, the Bosnian Serb army denied Croat reports that it was retreating from Maglaj to the town of Teslic, 20 kilometres (12 miles) further north-west. Croatian Radio said the withdrawal followed an ultimatum by the HVO commander in Zepce, a Croat enclave 20 kilometres south of Maglaj. In a statement carried by the local Serb agency SRNA, a commander of the First Army Corps of the self-styled Bosnian Serb Republic described the report as "pure disinformation and a propaganda action by the Croat media." Serb forces "are not withdrawing and their heavy arms are not blocked," said the statement.

### UN Unable To Confirm Withdrawal

*AU2103125094 Paris AFP in English 1222 GMT 21 Mar 94*

[Excerpts] Zagreb, March 21 (AFP)—A second aid convoy for the northern Bosnian Moslem town of Maglaj left here Monday, as UN officials said that conditions in the Serb-besieged enclave were not as dire as reported. [passage omitted]

In Sarajevo a spokesman for the UN High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) said the convoy should arrive by Tuesday in the town, where things looked somewhat better than expected. "The food situation in Maglaj is not as bad as originally reported, but the destruction is very considerable. There is not a single house without serious damage," spokesman Kris Janowski said at a Sarajevo press briefing. The region's war-weary population had been described in a recent UN report as walking skeletons. But Major Simon Macdowell, UNPROFOR spokesman in Sarajevo, told journalists early indications showed that while the situation was "far from good" it was "not as desperate as perhaps some Bosnian radio reports were making out." "There are no signs of ethnic cleansing in the Maglaj region (which) has suffered worst from shelling and fighting," he said Monday.

Janowski said the second run would provide a real test of Serb will to allow humanitarian aid for the 100,000 people living in the Moslem-dominated enclave, but the UNHCR was not expecting any trouble. Trapped civilians have been forced to rely on air drops for aid since ground deliveries were stopped five months ago. Larry Hollingworth, head of UNHCR operations in Bosnia, reported that the airdrops had been successful "and basically kept them alive," said Janowski.

Serb forces withdrew Saturday from positions around Maglaj after the UN Security Council ordered them to lift their nine-month siege on March 14. A group of UN peacekeeping soldiers was allowed in on a reconnaissance mission to set up the arrival of Sunday's nine-truck convoy from Zenica, which carried 80 tonnes of food and medical supplies to Maglaj and the nearby besieged town of Tesanj. Several doctors accompanying the convoy evacuated nine people "in serious condition (...) injured during the recent shelling," said Janowski.

Macdowell said it was "still too early" to confirm whether rumours of a Bosnian Serb army withdrawal from the region were true. "It is still going to take some time until we have more freedom of movement, to really be able to assess positions around the area," he said. [passage omitted]

### Details on Aid Convoy

*AU2003145394 Paris AFP in English 1428 GMT 20 Mar 94*

[Excerpt] Zagreb, March 20 (AFP)—An aid convoy reached the Moslem town of Maglaj in northern Bosnia Sunday, providing the first such shipment to the town's population of 16,000 since October, UN officials said. The nine-truck convoy, escorted by UN armored vehicles, was carrying 80 tonnes of food and medical supplies and included several doctors who hoped to bring out from the enclave some 20 people in need of medical attention.

Peter Kessler, spokesman for the UN High Commissioner for refugees, said the relief convoy left the town of Zenica early Saturday [19 March] and travelled the 70 kilometres (43 miles) to Maglaj without encountering any obstacles from Bosnian Serb troops besieging the Moslem enclave. He said the convoy reached Maglaj shortly after 1330 GMT only to discover a devastated city with only a few buildings left standing. "There are almost no buildings left that have not been destroyed by the Serbs," said Kessler. "It looks like Vukovar." Vukovar is the eastern Croatian city destroyed by the former Yugoslav army in 1991. [passage omitted]

### TANJUG Reports Muslim, Croat Fighting

*LD1903214994 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2130 GMT 19 Mar 94*

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, March 19 (TANJUG)—Fighting between Bosnian Moslems and Croats continued on Saturday although their leaders signed a federation deal in Washington on Friday. The Zagreb-based Croatian radio said Moslem troops were attacking Croat positions around Kiseljak in central Bosnia from small arms and anti-aircraft guns. The same source said the situation in the Mostar area was calm on Saturday. The Moslem-controlled Radio Sarajevo, on the other hand, reported continuous small arms attacks on the Moslem section of Mostar. Moslem attacks on Serb positions in central and northern Bosnia also continued on Saturday. Bosnian Serb military sources in the area of Srbobran (formerly Donji Vakuf) reported Moslem provocations from the direction of Bugojno, central Bosnia. The Moslem troops on that section of the front have been regrouping over the past 24 hours, the sources said and added that the local authorities in Srbobran had ordered all public institutions and schools to suspend work in the expectation of a Moslem attack.

The Bosnian Serb army said the strongest Moslem attacks were reported in the Trebava river valley to the northeast of Doboj. The Moslem infantry attacks were successfully repulsed and the enemy was forced to retreat, the same source said and added that the Moslems were regrouping and bringing in reinforcements from Gracanica east of Doboj. A Moslem commando team attempting an infiltration into the area south of Doboj was successfully neutralized on Friday night, the Bosnian Serb army said and added that two commandoes were killed after stepping on a mine while retreating and that several others were seriously wounded.

### Croat-Muslim Prisoner Exchange Begins

*LD1903221294 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 19 Mar 94*

[Excerpt] A group of 866 prisoners of war were released today from Muslim prisons and prisons runs by the Croat Defense Council [HVO]. Members of the HVO who were held in Bugojno have arrived in Mostar as well. Zdenko Vranjes reporting.

[Begin reporting] [Vranjes] In today's exchange the Croat side released 500 captured members of the Muslim army from the prison in Rodoc near Mostar. This afternoon they crossed over to the [Muslim-held] eastern part of Mostar, some of them went to Jablanica, and 20 went to their homes in the [Croat-held] western part of Mostar.

The Muslim side released 72 captured HVO members from prisons in the eastern part of Mostar and 294 from the prison in Bugojno. The former prisoners crossed from the eastern to the western part of the town this afternoon. Released prisoners from Bugojno have also arrived in Mostar this evening.

Berislav Pusic, the representative of the Herzeg-Bosna office for the exchange of prisoners and searches for the missing, assessing that today's exchange fully honored the agreement on the exchange reached yesterday, noted that the exchange according to the all-for-all principle would continue as early as 21 March, and that it would go on until the last captured or imprisoned person of either side is released.

[Pusic] We still want 53 residents of Bugojno who are on our list of missing people. We have managed to locate some of them in prisons in Travnik and Zenica. I cannot give their names now because I do not know them, but

they will be [word indistinct] in the next 10 days. We will continue searching for other Croats who were arrested in Bugojno when the town fell. [end recording] [passage omitted]

### Mostar Welcomes Freed Prisoners

*LD1903212194 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 19 Mar 94*

[Excerpt] Fighters and citizens of Mostar put on a magnificent, unprecedented welcome for members of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, who today, through the mediation of the Red Cross and UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces], were set free after having spent several months in prison.

The meetings with relatives and friends (?who waited for them anxiously) are difficult to describe. In the first group, this afternoon, 178 former inmates arrived [in the Muslim-held part of Mostar]. Twenty-two persons, in accordance with their own wishes, were sent to the right bank [as heard] of the city, which is under the control of the HVO [Croatian Defense Council], while 12 of those freed went to Jablanica. At any moment a second group of prisoners should arrive, so that the agreement on their release can be fully implemented. [passage omitted]

### Serbs Accuse NATO Planes of 'Show of Force'

*LD2003170894 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1650 GMT 20 Mar 94*

["Pool" item]

[Text] Petrovac, March 20 (TANJUG)—NATO planes on Sunday violated air space in a show of force over western part of the Bosnian Serb Republic (S.R.) by taking reconnaissance flights over Serb positions. The planes strafed the area, terrorizing the population in the areas of Kljuc, Drvar, Petrovac, Krupa-on-the-Una and the Serb municipality of Bihac. Moslem forces over the past 24 hours continuously mounted fierce attacks on this part of the battlefront, Bosnian Serb military sources have said. Serb forces keep all front lines under control and respond to attacks only if necessary and in case when their property and lives of fighters are being threatened. The Bosnian Serb Army has had no casualties in the fighting.

Moslem forces have continued regrouping on the Srbobran (formerly Gornji Vakuf) battlefront, in central Bosnia, Serb military sources said. Despite strong Moslem attacks launched on Srbobran from Bugojno during the past week, trucks of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) have shipped off, via Srbobran, 600 tonnes of food for Moslems in central Bosnia, the same sources said. Moslem forces have again staged provocations against Serb positions towards Cajnice (south of Mostar) and Konjic (north of Mostar), local Serb military sources said. In western Bosnia-Herzegovina, fierce inter-Moslem clashes continue between loyalists of hardline Moslem leader Alia Izetbegovic and his moderate rival Fikret Abdic, leader of the Autonomous Province of Western Bosnia.

### Figures on Killed, Wounded in War Issued

*AU1703211894 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 17 Mar 94*

[Text] From the beginning of the aggression on the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina up to the present, 142,592 people have been killed, have died of exposure or starvation, or are missing. In the area of 61 municipalities, 162,341 have been wounded, 72,532 of whom sustained serious injuries. In this time, 16,538 children have been killed, and another 33,805 have been wounded. Of this number, 18,814 have been seriously wounded, states the Republican Headquarters for Healthcare and Social Security of Bosnia-Herzegovina. In Sarajevo, 9,900 people were killed, while another 58,160 were wounded. Of these, 18,814 people sustained severe injuries. Of the killed, 1,564 were children. Another 14,814 children were injured, 3,349 of them seriously.

In the past week, 6,576 cases of infectious diseases were registered in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Enterocolitis makes up the majority of cases, followed by influenza and infectious hepatitis. Medical equipment and expert medical teams are most needed in the areas where the aggressor continues to attack fiercely. In accordance with the normalization of the situation, preparations have begun for the return of displaced persons within the country, and of those from other countries. The number of Bosnia-Herzegovina refugees has climbed to 1,260,088. Of these, 727,234 refugees have been registered in areas under the control of the legitimate authorities. The majority of our refugees are in Germany, Croatia, Austria, Switzerland, and other countries.

## Granic on Country's Role, Confederation Plan

*PM1803163894 Madrid ABC in Spanish*
*16 Mar 94 p 34*

[Interview with Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic by Jose Ramiro Villapadierna in Zagreb; date not given]

[Text] Zagreb—"You must speak with Granic; he is the best politician and the best person I have found in this war," Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic recently urged ABC. Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic is intelligent and cautious, does not flinch under fire when asked about his government's many inconsistencies in Bosnia, and does not believe in any Bosnian fundamentalism. "My spokesman will have told you that out of the dozens of interviews for which I have been requested over the past few days your newspaper is the only one that I am going to receive," he explained before going to Washington for the final signing of the agreement.

[Villapadierna] Why has Zagreb fought more for Herzegovina—part of another country—than for eastern Slavonia itself, which remains occupied?

[Granic] The foremost aim of Croatian policy is the real reintegration of the occupied areas within the Croatian state's legal and economic framework. When the UN Protection Forces' mandate ends, President Tudjman will send Butrus-Ghali our plan for reintegration on the basis of the existing resolutions. We wish to extend the air exclusion order to the occupied areas of Croatia and for it also to include an ultimatum in order to monitor the borders, as the resolutions stipulate. Regarding what you say about Herzegovina, I will remind you that the plan for a greater Serbia, against Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, produced its strongest reaction precisely in Herzegovina. Without that reaction, there would not be a single free territory in Bosnia today.

[Villapadierna] What has changed for you people and the Muslims to cease killing each other on the Neretva?

[Granic] The conditions for the current agreement (between Bosnian Croats and Muslims) were being created for a long time in lengthy secret negotiations which began 14 September, and Croatia finally deemed the time ripe to accept and fully support this. Then it was a matter of finding strong international support, and this was Washington. The talks in Vienna have ended successfully, and the military agreement has been signed and will be ratified in Washington Friday, but nothing would have been possible without the United States.

[Villapadierna] What is the significance of the other agreement with Belgrade, whose forces are still invading your country?

[Granic] Croatia also wants a final normalization of relations, but with acceptance of its territorial integrity. The rapidity of that normalization will depend on Belgrade's attitude to the occupied territories and its observance of the resolutions. Only, communications have been restored and we can talk, and this represents an impetus to the commission seeking the 7,500 missing persons.

[Villapadierna] Have you no guarantee of extending sanctions until reintegration?

[Granic] We will continue to demand this. The total harmonization of thinking with U.S. ideas is our best guarantee. Croatia is prepared to speak with Croatia's Serbs within the framework of what is laid down by the Security Council, to cease firing immediately, and to establish transport and communications. Everybody now wishes to support a final peaceful solution; Churkin was here yesterday. Croatia is at its best point internationally.

[Villapadierna] Will there be a referendum on the federation in Bosnia?

[Granic] Everybody is in agreement on the federation except some people in the Serbian National Party. Regarding the confederation, our Constitution requires two-thirds of the Sabor and then a referendum.

[Villapadierna] Can a southern Slav country be like Switzerland?

[Granic] We have studied many models with the best U.S. and European legislators, but the main thing is not the cantons but the political agreement and equal rights for Croats and Muslims. Economically, Bosnia has been destroyed. It will need special assistance from the world; there are good signs of this. On the Islamic side, it is cheaper to help reconstruction than to send arms; on the European side, it is between 10 and 20 times cheaper to send back the refugees and help them here. And the economy is always a good reason.

[Villapadierna] Will the "Srpska republic" be deactivated?

[Granic] We have offered them entry into the confederation on the same terms. No concessions will be made on human rights.

[Villapadierna] Are the United States and Russia alone able to restore peace to the Balkans? Has Europe thwarted their hopes?

[Granic] It is very complex. Europe is very interested in this region—the European powers are our neighbors. On my recent tour I secured considerable agreement on our negotiation and the resolution of the conflict, but Europe has no instruments or strong machinery: It cannot stop the Serbian aggression. The European conglomeration represents wealth, but also weakness. That is why we have dwelt on U.S. support so much.

[Villapadierna] Why did the alleged German interests in Yugoslavia prove so unacceptable for the same Europe which now accepts the Russian intervention and interests in Serbia?

[Granic] Throughout this period, Germany's stance has been very positive, especially in the humanitarian sense, and in promoting dialogue between Croats and Muslims. On the Russian presence, most of the powers agree on the influence which they exert over the Serbs. Germany has no influence over the Serbs, but it does over Russia. In addition, Russia's particular interest in the Balkans must be accepted.

[Villapadierna] Why did Zagreb betray its alliance with Sarajevo, only to sign the confederation agreement after thousands of deaths?

[Granic] Write that I utterly disagree with that, and I have been following this conflict for a long time. Since the aggression against Croatia, we have offered them a military alliance. I am saying this for the first time. The situation of Bosnia and Herzegovina was very difficult, surrounded on all sides, but they should have taken their decision earlier. Croatia supported independence, because the agreement was a decentralized country with equal rights for everybody. The (Bosnian) Croats were the best organized to defend their territory, and the Muslims received their first weapons from Croatia.

[Villapadierna] The first convoys of weapons to defend Srebrenica were also stopped by the Croats.

[Granic] What some Croat troops did with the Muslim convoys, the destruction of Mostar, or the massacres of Achmici and Stupni Dol, are another matter. I can also give you around 40 instances of the Muslims. On many occasions, it was Croats and Muslims together who stopped the convoys.

[Villapadierna] People paid by secret services to worsen the conflict?

[Granic] Clearly. It is strange that many of these crimes were covered immediately by some television channels such as CNN, while others which were much bloodier were not mentioned: There were interests. I assure you that what we are going to sign is the same thing that Tudjman and I proposed back in August without much response.

[Villapadierna] President Izetbegovic also offered a confederation in Geneva.

[Granic] This desire existed on both sides, but I tell you: I wish to speak to you not of specific mistakes—that is history—but of a global strategy. You know that the Muslims are not a homogeneous body: The majority are in favor of full cooperation with the Croats, but others are in favor of a separate Islamic state.

[Villapadierna] Have you won support for your agreement in Moscow?

[Granic] Moscow has been very active: The Serbs will join in the negotiations.

## RSK Prime Minister, Government Resigns

*LD2003124994 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1232 GMT 20 Mar 94*

[Text] Knin, 20 Mar (TANJUG)—Djordje Bjegovic, prime minister of the republic of Serb Krajina (RSK), tendered his irrevocable resignation to the position of prime minister at a session of Krajina's assembly today.

Under the RSK Constitution, the prime minister's resignation entails the resignation of the whole government, which will however remain in power until a new government is elected.

## Bjegovic Explains Resignation

*AU2003172994 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 20 Mar 94*

[Text] On its second day of work, the assembly of the republic of Serbian Krajina, [words indistinct] false accusations against the Krajina government increased so much that the conflict between the government and the parliament was resolved by Prime Minister Djordje Bjegovic tendering the cabinet's resignation to the deputies. Here is our special correspondent Dragoljub Stankic reporting from Knin:

[Begin recording] [Stankic] Differences were expressed yesterday by the refusal of the opposition, the Serbian Democratic Party of Krajina and the Serbian Radicals, to accept that the government's ordinances have legal force, something that immediately brought the Krajina judicial system to a complete state of paralysis. The vote of no-confidence in Information Minister Milena Tanjga—without deviating from the legal period of time from the no-confidence motion to the [word indistinct]—came to a head during the morning session when deputes of the coalition opposed the government's report on the recent term, presented by Prime Minister Djordje Bjegovic. The solution does not lie in reproaches; the point is to make the [word indistinct] under these conditions, said Bjegovic, attempting to somehow calm things down in the Assembly. However, if one adds here that the joint coalition was from the very beginning opposed to the new prime minister-designate, Borisav Mikelic, as well to most other issues, it is then clear that things could be solved only with the resignation of the entire cabinet.

We asked Prime Minister Djordje Bjegovic to briefly comment on his resignation for Belgrade Radio.

[Bjegovic] Well, I think that in this situation it was necessary to cut short the debate. I do not think that false accusations are ever useful and particularly not to the republic of Serbian Krajina and its people, who are suffering for the fourth year already. It is good that we had parliamentary elections and a multiparty system, but some rules of human behavior must exist. I think that there has been smearing and spitting on the government both in the case of the former parliament and this

one, although I think that it is the only body in republic of Serbian Krajina that has functioned, more or less.

It was my human duty to come before the parliament as a deputy and I think I performed my duty to the extent that it was possible to do so. My entire cabinet made an effort to do its duty. Working under difficult conditions, I think that we nevertheless maintained a certain minimum of system and organization. I was particularly concerned with the question of how to solve the organizational situation. I must say with pleasure that (?this one step) was overcome and now we have all [word indistinct], all state institutions. I expect the new parliament to do the same, as these committees should take care of the law, the legal procedure, and by no means encroach on executive power. If this is understood, then a division of duties will be accomplished. What should definitely be accepted in the end is the communal system plan, that is to say, a law on territorial organization in which [words indistinct]. In this way, we will have a real infrastructure and I am certain we will be successful. On the basis of everything I have heard today, I can say that there are many clever people here, but it is certain that this party [word indistinct] is above them and that it is almost dictating to them. I would not like to dictate to anybody to do what is smart, he should decide for himself. I think that it is most important to also create a financial model, that is, economic prosperity for the republic of Serbian Krajina. I am sure that there is room for us in a joint Serbian state and I am sure that we shall [words indistinct).

[Stankic] We should also say that after Milan Martic, president of the republic of Serbian Krajina, and the new Assembly were elected, the Krajina government became a regular offender. The parliamentary majority treated the government as a political opponent, and attacks abounded regardless of the evidence. The attacks on government projects, against Milena Tanjga, and Borislav Mikelic are in fact the coalition's attack against President Milan Martic. The government's (?resignation) is nothing but a ruse by the parliamentary majority, because according to the Constitution, the government can now function unhindered until a new cabinet is elected. [end recording]

## Conflict Detailed

*AU1903165594 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 19 Mar 94*

[Report by Dragoljub Stankic from Knin]

[Text] The assembly of the republic of Serbian Krajina delayed its meeting today by more than three hours. They were allegedly waiting for Krajina Radio and Television to carry out technical preparations for a live relay of the session. However, the situation is such that earlier disagreements between the government and the assembly have now reached their peak. This is demonstrated by the proposed agenda; it has been proposed to the Krajina assembly deputies to debate the already established prime minister-designate. Let us recall: Milan Martic, president of the republic of Serbian Krajina, took advantage of his constitutional powers and informed the assembly chairman in writing that he should appoint Borislav Mikelic prime minister-designate. Mikelic was director of the Petrinja Gavrilovic Combine for years and then the deputy director of the Progres Enterprise. Assembly Chairman Branko Vojnica is only supposed to inform assembly deputies of this, the debate will be held only after the prime minister designate informs them about the new cabinet.

The coalition of the Serbian Democratic Party of Krajina and the Serbian Radical Party opposed the first prime minister from the very beginning, so a heated argument on this is expected at today's session. However, the majority orientation both in Knin and throughout Krajina is that Borislav Mikelic should be prime minister-designate because of his good and correct relations with the Serbian leadership, as well as strong business links with new Serbian prime minister Mirko Marjanovic. The coalition of the Serbian Democratic Party of Krajina and Serbian Radicals want to overcome this situation by entering onto the agenda the formation of a parliamentary delegation that would leave for talks with the Serbian president.

Foreign Minister Slobodan Jarcevic is also expected to present the government's proposal for the platform for talks with the Croatian delegation in the Russian Embassy in Zagreb on 22 March.

On the agenda are also amendments to several laws: on the Krajina Radio and Television, the Serbian army of Krajina, as well as a package of financial laws.

## SDSK Rejects Nomination

*LD1803212694 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1748 GMT 18 Mar 94*

[Excerpt] Knin, 18 Mar (TANJUG)—The Executive Committee of the Serb Democratic Party of Krajina [SDSK], chaired by former Krajina President Milan Babic, today rejected a proposal put forward by Milan Martic, president of the republic of Serb Krajina, to appoint Borislav Mikelic as prime minister of the new Krajina government, this party announced today.

The announcement says that the appointment of Borislav Mikelic as the new RSK government's prime minister-designate represents an act of ignoring the will of the parliamentary majority, which is a constitutional obligation and common practice in parliamentary democracies throughout the world.

It has also been said that this party was in favor of a national unity government, "remaining open to negotiations on the composition of the government with all political factors, which is in the national interest." [passage omitted]

### RSK President on Right to Self-Determination

*LD2003172294 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1520 GMT 20 Mar 94*

[Text] Kragujevac, 20 Mar (TANJUG)—Milan Martic, president of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], told Radio Kragujevac today that the Serbs in the RSK will not renounce their right to self-determination and that "this is the minimum below which we will not go in any talks dealing with the fate of the Serb nation, including the Zagreb talks scheduled for Tuesday."

Taking part in the Hallmark of the Times program on Radio Kragujevac, Martic said that claims that Serbia has given up on Krajina are pure speculation.

He stressed that the talks in the Russian Embassy in Zagreb are useful for many reasons: They are to be held on neutral territory, equality in talks has been ensured and, most important, the door has been opened for the RSK to join international negotiations on the former Yugoslavia.

Asked about his views on the role of the Russian side, which is sponsoring the talks, Martic said Russian diplomacy has an important role in stabilizing the situation in the Balkans and in establishing peace.

He said the Washington agreement between the Muslims and Croats was the result of the U.S. initiative which should secure long-term U.S. interests in the Balkans.

The RSK president believes that the [Croat-Muslim] alliance will not last long. "The alliance will make the RSK's position difficult for a while, but no one can return the RSK to Croatia by force," Martic stressed.

Our fate depends most on the determination and readiness for further efforts and pressures which will follow both in the sphere of diplomacy and defense.

### Tudjman Letter to Butrus-Ghali on UN Mandate

*LD1803202194 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 18 Mar 94*

[Text] The president of the Republic of Croatia forwarded a letter to UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali on 16 March concerning the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] mandate in Croatia, which expires on 31 March. President Tudjman's letter was published in New York as an official document of the Security Council under S/1994/305. The letter is quoted in its entirety: "On 31 March 1994 the existing mandate of the UNPROFOR will expire, leaving the Security Council with the option of extending if for an additional period of six months. The Republic of Croatia praises the UN soldiers and civilian personnel for all of the efforts they have made in their difficult mission of peace in Croatia. We are grateful for their devoted humanitarian effort, which has helped many citizens of Croatia, and we deeply regret the casualties which the international forces have suffered in their brave task.

"The Republic of Croatia is once again ready to accept prolongation of the UNPROFOR mandate on its territory, considering the pivotal role of UNPROFOR in the overall process. However, in making its final decision regarding the renewal of the UNPROFOR mandate, the Government of Croatia must raise the question of the necessity of improving UNPROFOR's performance. Full implementation of all relevant Security Council resolutions remains the most essential, yet still unfulfilled, task of UNPROFOR. With more than 16,000 UN peace-keeping troops deployed in Croatia, and considering the precise goals inscribed in the Vance plan (S/23280, annex III), it is difficult to accept the inefficiency of UNPROFOR performance in Croatia. The uncooperative and hostile behavior of militant Serbian insurgents in the UN Protected Areas (UNPAs) certainly is a cause of considerable difficulties for UNPROFOR, but they should not be permitted to impede the implementation of any Security Council resolutions. Security Council Resolution No. 871 (1993) of 4 October 1993 remains the foundation for any future UNPROFOR action in Croatia, as well as the overall framework for initiating the process of the peaceful reintegration of the UNPAs into the legal and economic system of the Republic of Croatia. Croatia stresses in particular the importance of paragraphs 4 and 5 of Security Council Resolution No. 871 (1993).

"The full normalization of the position of the international community toward the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) must be preconditioned on the sincere cooperation of its government in the full and prompt implementation of the UN peace-keeping plan for the Republic of Croatia. This includes the provisions of the plan concerning the demilitarization of the UNPAs, as well as the recognition of the Republic of Croatia within its internationally recognized borders. In dealing with the question of the UNPAs, the Republic of Croatia would like to recall General Assembly Resolution No. 48/122 of 20 December 1993 entitled 'Human Rights and Terrorism.' Actions of the Serbian insurgents in the UNPAs can clearly be characterized as terrorist acts, aimed at the destruction of human rights, threatening the territorial integrity of the Republic of Croatia, destabilizing the legitimately constituted Government of Croatia, undermining a pluralistic civil society and having serious consequences on the economic and social development of Croatia. Therefore, we call upon the Security Council to consider, in its future deliberations on the problems of the UNPAs, the hostile actions of the Serbian insurgents to be acts of terrorism. The Republic of Croatia remains fully committed to the peace process, and it is ready to cooperate with UNPROFOR in the fulfillment of its difficult mandate.

"As well as Security Council resolutions, the major guideline in our approach toward the achievement of a peaceful settlement in the Republic of Croatia remains the European Union Action Plan. Croatia is dedicated to remaining an element of stability and security in the region, in close cooperation with the United Nations. At

the same time, I must once again emphasize the extreme importance of successful implementation of all the relevant Security Council resolutions for the rapid and peaceful reintegration of the UNPAs into the legal and political system of the Republic of Croatia. This is the only guarantee for peace and stability in the region. In order to facilitate future UNPROFOR performance, and considering the situation on the ground, I am enclosing a series of goals and actions which Croatia considers to be necessary for the success of the renewed UNPROFOR mandate."

### Army Acquires T-55 Tanks From Germany

*LD1803200994 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1756 GMT 18 Mar 94*

[Text] Knin, 18 Mar (TANJUG)—Nineteen T-55 tanks for the Croatian Army arrived in the Croatian port of Bakar on 14 and 15 March this year. TANJUG has learned from military sources in Knin that Croatia acquired the tanks from weapons arsenals of the army of the former East Germany.

Military circles in Knin interpret the import of the tanks as the reward to Croatia for its acceptance to form the Croatian-Muslim confederation.

### Second Relief Convoy Sets Off for Maglaj

*AU2103113394 Paris AFP in English 1118 GMT 21 Mar 94*

[Text] Zagreb, March 21 (AFP)—A relief convoy carrying 94 tonnes of food and medical supplies left here Monday [21 March] heading for the Moslem enclave of Maglaj in northern Bosnia, UN officials reported.

The 10-truck convoy was expected to cross by midday the Gradiska Bridge, linking Croatia and Bosnia, and continue on toward the beseiged enclave via Banja Luka, the main city in northern Bosnian under Serb control.

Another convoy reached the city Sunday delivering 80 tonnes of supplies, the first to reach the beleaguered city in five months. Shortly thereafter Bosnian Serb leaders had given their approval for another convoy to reach the city, Peter Kessler, spokesman for the UN High Commissioner for Refugees said. He said the latest convoy would amount to a real "test" on the Serbs' apparent willingness to allow much-needed aid to reach the pocket's 100,000 population.

## Federal

### Simic Says Contacts With Croatia 'Encouraging'

*LD1903212894 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2058 GMT 19 Mar 94*

["Pool" item]

[Text] Geneva, March 19 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Deputy Prime Minister Zeljko Simic has described Yugoslavia's contacts with Croatia as encouraging and said that bilateral meetings are aimed at seeking concrete solutions to humanitarian problems and not at producing spectacular political results.

Simic was interviewed by the JOURNAL DE GENEVE daily, which introduced him as the first Yugoslav politician to visit Zagreb after Croatia violently seceded from the former Yugoslav Federation in 1991.

Speaking about the Moslem-Croat agreement on setting up a federation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Simic said the Serbs would welcome the deal if it was to bring about the cessation of hostilities and peace in the republic.

The paper reminded its readers that Belgrade had made it clear to U.S. Presidential Envoy Charles Redman that there could be no solution to the Bosnian crisis without Bosnian Serbs and that political and military aspects of the situation could not be overlooked.

The Yugoslav Government maintains that the European Union has lost credibility in trying to resolve the crisis in ex-Yugoslavia, of which it has informed President of the E.U. Ministerial Council Karolos Papoulias of Greece during his recent visit to Belgrade, JOURNAL DE GENEVE said.

Paraphrasing Simic, it went on to explain that the European Community last December proposed that sanctions against Yugoslavia be lifted if Bosnian Serbs made territorial concessions to the Moslems. This condition has been met, the paper said, but the Serbs now have the impression that they have been pushed to the side.

Yugoslavia (Serbia/Montenegro) insists on the adherence to the democratic formula adopted at the Geneva-based International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, according to which a solution to the Bosnian War is to be negotiated by all three sides to the conflict, the paper explained.

It quoted Simic as saying that the Yugoslav Government did not want to be directly involved in the upcoming talks in Zagreb between Croatia and the Republic of Serb Krajina, and that its dialogue with Croatia should be conducted on an equal footing.

This implies the lifting of the absurd anti-Yugoslav sanctions which have harmed both the Serb people and countries neighbouring on Yugoslavia.

### Assesses Geneva Meeting

*LD1903014794 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0006 GMT 19 Mar 94*

["Pool" item]

[Text] Geneva, March 18 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Deputy Prime Minister Zeljko Simic on Friday assessed as successful a Yugoslav delegation's three-day working visit to Geneva, where it had taken part in the work of the groups for succession to former Yugoslavia and on humanitarian issues within the framework of the international conference on former Yugoslavia.

In a statement made before leaving Geneva, Simic described as exceptionally important the acceptance of the Yugoslav delegation's suggestion as to how the assets of former Yugoslavia should be inventoried.

The working group's agreement [words indistinct] the Yugoslav suggestion on an equal footing, after almost two years of denying this, practically means that the legal and economic postulates of the former Yugoslav federation must be recognized, which in turn means that there can be no arbitrary interpretation of the entitlement to state property, explained Simic.

The insistence of the other former Yugoslav republics that a division of assets was made unde the 1974 constitution collapsed when a debate on a partial division of assets was taken off the agenda, he added.

He further said he had held an important discussion on the crisis in former Yugoslavia with the deputy co-chairman of the former Yugoslavia conference, Ambassador Geerd Ahrens.

Simic said the Yugoslav delegation was satisfied with the session of the working group on humanitarian issues, which for the first time publicly voiced the view that international sanctions against Yugoslavia (Serbia/Montenegro) had done incalculable harm and had unjustly punished the most vulnerable section of the population—the elderly, the children, the ill and the refugees—thus [word indistinct] the eiforts of humanitarian organisations.

U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees Sadako Ogata has also voiced this view, so that it might be expected without a doubt to produce some political effect, said Simic.

Yugoslavia has fulfilled all the conditions as set down by the international community, and now expects the European Union to show in deed what it undertook late last year to do in word, namely to take the necessary steps to ease or lift the economic sanctions which have been proven so utterly inappropriate, said Simic.

The views voiced at Geneva indicate that the international community is becoming more amenable to arguments Yugoslavia has been presenting since before the outbreak of the crisis, said Simic.

## Serbia

### Prime Minister Marjanovic on New Government

*AU1803210994 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 18 Mar 94*

[Interview with Serbian Prime Minister Mirko Marjanovic by Spomenka Jovic in Belgrade on 18 March—recorded]

[Text] [Jovic] Can I freely assume that there is significant optimism and faith in a more stable government?

[Marjanovic] Well, you see, the stability of the government will depend on what we manage to achieve. Times are tough, and had we not believed that we could achieve something, I believe that neither I nor my associates would not have undertaken this task. What is the essence? The essence is that the only strong elements we had as pointers that we had to apply ourselves to diligently in order to fully succeed lay in our belief that, even in conditions of sanctions, there was a possibility of mobilizing the mechanisms for reviving the economy. If there were no sanctions, this would be a completely different thing, and I believe that we would be able to come up with even better programs. However, I am convinced that we will find the strength to keep the dinar stable, to improve and increase production, at least to the extent that will keep the dinar stable for the time being. Once we gain a little strength, then we can think more seriously about the further revival of the economy.

[Jovic] I thank you for this interview, and wish you successful cooperation with your team and the best of luck in your work.

### Addresses Assembly After Election

*AU1803163094 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 18 Mar 94*

[Zoran Vaskovic report]

[Text] A total of 128 deputies supported the government by a show of hands, 77 were against, while 30 deputies refrained from voting. At the end of the marathon debate, just before the vote was taken, Prime Minister-designate Mirko Marjanovic addressed the assembly.

[Begin Marjanovic recording] This long debate has strengthened my conviction and my resolve to adhere to the main course of the program and the stable dinar. We do not see an alternative to this program, because by establishing monetary sovereignty and macroeconomic stabilization, it paves the way toward a modern market economy which is the only thing that will lead to a lasting increase of the national revenue, employment, and the citizens' living standard. We are aware of all the difficulties. Do not expect us to conduct a policy which would take us back into hyperinflation or into an administrative economy and society. We believe that this year, the policy of a stable dinar will motivate and economically compel a great number of companies to be more successful despite the sanctions. It is a good omen that the business community itself is now displaying more optimism and is announcing an increase in orders, production, greater use of equipment, and an increase in export. We anticipate that all this, accompanied by a successful agricultural year, will give us the chance to see—after a hiatus of several years—a rise in the national revenue, in stable, therefore, not inflatory conditions. As far as our resolve to insist on a stable dinar is concerned, this government will do its part of the job and will cooperate closely with the Federal Government, the Montenegrin Government, and, of course, with the Yugoslav National Bank regarding all issues that fall within their respective domains. The government will treat every failure connected to the program as its personal failure. We shall organize ourselves in such a way that we will be able to follow the implementation of the program on a daily basis and make the necessary adjustments. We shall regularly inform you of this. We accept all criticism and suggestions that can help the implementation of the program. [end recording]

In addition to the prime minister, the new republican government comprises five deputy prime ministers, 20 ministers, and another four ministers without portfolio.

### Says Economy Can Recover

*LD1903071794 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0053 GMT 19 Mar 94*

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, March 18 (TANJUG)—Serbia's new Prime Minister Mirko Marjanovic said late on Friday that he and his associates had come to grips with problems in the belief that the mechanisms of economic recovery might be set in motion even under sanctins.

The parliament of Yugoslavia's Republic of Serbia on Thursday endorsed a new cabinet, headed by Marjanovic. The cabinet includes five vice-premiers, 20 departmental ministers and four ministers without portfolio.

Marjanovic said in Serbian television's prime-time news programme that the new government would act immediately and felt confident that they would manage to maintain the national currency, the dinar, stable and boost production.

This is only the beginning, and any substantial economic recovery should be left for later, he added.

Yugoslavia (Serbia/Montenegro) has lost 25 million dollars through U.N. sanctions clamped two years ago for the country's alleged involvement in Bosnia's civil war.

The figure would be much higher if the total cost had been calculated of manitaining the 600,000 refugees from the war-zones registered in Yugoslavia, 95 percent of whom have been accommodated with private families.

## Kosovo

### Rugova: Accord 'First Step' in Stopping War

*AU1803202094 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1830 GMT 18 Mar 94*

[Text] [Announcer] President of the Republic of Kosova Dr. Ibrahim Rugova held a news conference today. Ramadan Mucolli reports from Prishtina:

[Mucolli] At the beginning of the conference, President of the Republic of Kosova Dr. Ibrahim Rugova acquainted the reporters with the Serbian police repression against the Albanian people of Kosova. During the last week, this repression was manifested in the form of raids, harassments, arrests, interventions into educational institutions, etc. In this framework, he defined as a drastic case the siege to Seraj village in the Leposaviq commune and the raids on 22 homes in this village. Rugova assessed that repressive measures in the northernmost villages in Kosova are carried out with the intention of obliging Albanians to leave their territories.

President Rugova also commented on the sending of summons for recruiting the Albanian youngsters to the Serbian Army and added that we should express gratitude to those who refused to participate in the wars waged in Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia, because in this way, they have made a contribution to stopping the war.

Mr. Rugova also stressed that many Serbian civilians have recently been involved in brutal interventions against the Albanian institutions and the harassment of Albanians. Rugova also warned these civilians, if they are from Kosova, not to play with fire and causing greater enmity between Albanians and Serbs.

In the course of the sequestration of the buildings of various Albanian cultural, educational, and scientific institutions in Kosova, President Rugova mentioned the sequestration of the building of the High Pedagogical School of Gjakove. As a testimony to the Serbian attempts to recolonize Kosova, Rugova underlined the warning against starting to construct buildings for refugees or laying aside land for newcomers, as well as against threats of proceedings against Albanian refugees who may return to Kosova.

President Rugova then assessed highly the rallies of Albanians in Germany, England, and Norway as successful efforts for the internationalization of the question of Kosova and their political will. On this occasion, he thanked all the persons and institutions of those countries that joined the rallies and supported the demands of Albanians.

Mr. Rugova particularly hailed the debate on Kosova in the Belgian Parliament, especially the statement of Foreign Minister Willy Claes that the status of 1974 for Kosova is surpassed [as heard].

Answering a question on the signing of the agreement between the Muslims and Croats and an eventual similar model in the case of the Albanians of Kosova, President Rugova stressed that I hail the Muslim-Croat agreement and consider it to be a first step in stopping the war in Bosnia.

Further on, he stressed that ideas for federations and confederations have existed before in the Balkans but, as testified in the case of former Yugoslavia, they have been unsuccessful. We are not against integrations on the basis of new principles, but first of all, every people should be independent and should then decide on relations with others.

President Rugova also answered other questions by reporters.

### Conflict Among Ethnic Albanian Groups

*AU2103115394 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Mar 94 p 6*

[Report by M. Antic: "Rugova Fights Back"]

[Text] Pristina—Recently, both the ethnic Albanian press and some circles of the ethnic Albanian political alternative in Kosovo have issued many controversial reports and commentaries that openly call in question the results and effects of the political and diplomatic efforts made so far by Ibrahim Rugova, leader of the ethnic Albanian separatist movement for the republic of Kosovo (or rather by his propaganda team). Of course, most of those reports and commentaries were published in the Serbian press as well. Yesterday the Kosovo Information Center issued a commentary in an unusual way, sending to Rugova's critics the message that they are on the wrong track because the international positions of Kosovo and of Rugova have definitely been improving. The Kosovo Information Center, whose commentary was published by BULJKU yesterday, alleges that the Belgrade regime accuses Rugova of pursuing a radical policy and extremism, aimed at the strengthening of his personal position abroad, while by such attacks, Rugova's critics from the ethnic Albanian political circles want to weaken his position at home and abroad, which he earned through his endeavors to settle the ethnic Albanian national question.

The commentary, addressing in the first place the ethnic Albanian critics of Rugova and the results of his policies, reminds those same critics that they are focusing on the wrong problems, because, instead of concentrating on the Serbian terror and oppression on ethnic Albanians, which threatens to result in the arrest of Rugova himself, they are accusing Rugova that his policy is futile, and his resistance too passive. "Those same critics," the commentary runs further, "do not forbear to scandalously dramatize and extensively report on some cases of misunderstanding among several ethnic Albanian political groups in Kosovo and Macedonia, while hardly paying attention to the arrest of the entire staff of the Defense Ministry of the so-called republic of Kosovo. Some ethnic Albanian media and certain individuals have

openly expressed their satisfaction at disagreements between Pristina and Tirana."

Since the entire commentary suggests that there are serious breaches on the ethnic Albanian political stage in Kosovo, it sends the message to the "heretics" to come to their senses and concentrate on the Serbian occupation of Kosovo, rather than on Rugova, who works for the ethnic Albanian national cause in the best possible way. After this message the commentary specifies the political efforts that Rugova has made this year, as well as the effects and tributes paid to his policy abroad. Among other things the commentary also says that after Rugova's tour in the European Union member-countries late last year, Kosovo and Rugova's peaceful policy have been continuously winning recognition and support also this year as well. Then the commentary recalls Rugova's January visit to the United States, where President Clinton and State Secretary Warren Christopher expressed full support to Rugova, promising also that the United States will not tolerate the aggressive Serbian policy on Kosovo. The next example is Rugova's February visit to the United States, where Clinton and Al Gore expressed their understanding for Rugova's peaceful policy, which aims at finding a peaceful settlement to the situation in Kosovo.

The commentary further says that last week the question of Kosovo was discussed by many international institutions, for instance, at the meeting of the highest CSCE officials in Prague, where the resolution was adopted by which it is demanded that the CSCE mission be returned to Kosovo. The commentary also points out the resolution adopted by the UN Commission for Human Rights, which refers only to Kosovo, and also the resolution on former Yugoslavia, which anticipates the self-determination of Kosovo. It is also emphasized that the Kosovo issue was discussed at the latest meeting of the EU Council of Ministers, as well as at many other international forums, where some concrete solutions for Kosovo have been proposed.

## Vojvodina

### Rift Within Ethnic Hungarian Organization

*LD2103145794 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0500 GMT 21 Mar 94*

[Text] There are internal debates within the Democratic Community of Hungarians in Vojvodina [VMDK]. The reporter is Szilveszter Varga.

[Varga] One week before the VMDK conference for the reelection of officials, there is a danger of a rift in the organization. This is what the two deputy chairmen, Janos Vekas and Sandor Hodi, have told the Novi Sad paper MAGYAR SZO.

According to Vekas, although the internal differences do exist, none of the trends that have emerged within the VMDK have turned against the autonomy demand itself. For this reason, according to Vekas, there is a chance that the dominant idea relating to the justification for the autonomy concept will hold the VMDK together.

Sandor Hodi is also saying that even after the 27 March general meeting for the election of officials, the Hungarians in Vojvodina will be left to their own devices. In his opinion, here too the same question in essence will have to be decided as at the Hungarian elections in May—whether the VMDK should keep to the right, the left, or straight ahead. According to Hodi, a left-wing faction has evolved within the VMDK leadership which is openly striving for the expropriation of power and for a showdown with those who think in a different way.

However, an even bigger problem is posed by the fact that [VMDK Chairman] Andras Agoston, at the head of this group, considers that the time has come for an understanding, or even an appeasement, with the powers that be, which could endanger the autonomy endeavors of the Hungarians of Vojvodina, Sandor Hodi asserts in the Novi Sad paper MAGYAR SZO.